

THE STANDARD

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THE STANDARD advocates the abolition of all taxes upon industry and the products of industry, and the taking, by taxation upon land values irrespective of improvements, of the annual rental value of all those various forms of natural opportunities embraced under the general term, Land.

We hold that to tax labor or its products is to discourage industry.

We hold that to tax land values to their full amount will render it impossible for any man to exact from others a price for the privilege of using those bounties of nature in which all living men have an equal right of use; that it will compel every individual controlling natural opportunities to either utilize them by the employment of labor, or abandon them to others; that it will thus provide opportunities of work for all men, and secure to each the full reward of his labor; and that as a result involuntary poverty will be abolished, and the greed, intemperance and vice that spring from poverty and the dread of poverty will be swept away.

HENRY GEORGE IN ENGLAND.

LONDON, June 1.—How steadily, though gradually, as a man grows older, he comes to realize that the majority of those who live in his recollection are on the other side of the dark river. I was startled on the railway train, on picking up a newspaper, to find a brief dispatch announcing the burial of Allen Thorndike Rice. And then in another newspaper I found an announcement of the death of my good old friend, Philip A. Roach of San Francisco, whose genial qualities will long endear his memory to all who knew him. And now, within two hours of mailing a letter to him, I learn of the death of William Forsyth of Glasgow, the first president of the Scottish land restoration league. Mr. Forsyth was confined to his room when I was in Glasgow, and though he wanted very much to have a long talk with me, I was obliged to make some excuse for limiting my visits to five minutes each, but he seemed rapidly recovering, and when I left hoped soon to be out. It fretted him very much that he could not be present at any of the meetings, for his heart was in the cause as much as ever, and he watched its steady, rapid progress with the keenest interest. Mr. Forsyth has a brother in Detroit, and it was his intention to visit the United States this year, when I had hoped he would make some speeches for us. But his work is now done, and the cause into which he threw himself with such ardor remains for others to carry forward.

I stopped my letter last Saturday to go off to Colchester to present to Captain Murrell in his birth-place the watch which the Keystone watch club company had made for him and forwarded to me to present. The watch is a fine gold one of the best Keystone make, and bears the inscription: "To Captain Hamilton Murrell, in token of appreciation of the admirable way in which he discharged his duty in saving seven hundred lives. From the Keystone Watch Club Company."

Circumstances prevented me from taking the special carriage to which the mayor of Colchester had by telegraph invited me, and I did not know the proceedings had been advanced two hours in order to allow the party to get back that night, so that when I arrived in time for the announced hour I found the presentation of the address by the corporation over, and the dinner in full headway. However, after the drinking of the health of the queen, whose birthday it was, the proposal of Captain Murrell's health by the mayor, and the response of Captain Murrell, I had time to discharge my commission.

Captain Murrell is a fine young fellow of only twenty-eight, the very picture of ruddy health and manliness. Captain of an ocean steamer at twenty-eight, and the recipient of such honors in the metropolis of his country and his native city! What American lad could hope for that?

The captain was to me an illustration of the stupidity and injustice of the system of taxation, mis-called protection, that has driven the American flag off the ocean, and I obeyed my impulse to say so in my presentation speech, for I knew that I would be but expressing the sentiments of our friends of the Keystone company, and I did it with the more unctious, as Colchester is a Tory town, and the English Tories have a good deal more than a sneaking regard for the protective system, which they would reinstate tomorrow if they could. Here is a press report that gives a pretty fair abstract of what I said:

Mr. George said he had been deputed by some countrymen and friends of his of the Keystone watch company to present in their name to Captain Murrell a little token of appreciation. They recognized fully the truth of what the captain had said, that he had done but his duty, and what he would do again. No one could grasp the captain's hand and look into his face without feeling that what he had done he could not help doing; nor, thank God, did the captain stand alone. Any other British seaman true to his impulses and traditions would have done the same. To him, as an American, Mr. George said there was a shade of regret in making that presentation. When over the civilized world sympathy was aroused for the fate of the Danmark's crew and passengers, the one hope was that they might be rescued by some passing vessels. It might be by a Russian or Frenchman or Prussian, or still more likely, as it proved, by an Englishman. But no one dreamed that it would be by an American. There were no American steamers crossing the Atlantic. No American sailors could have done what Captain Murrell did, not because the blood of the Vikings did not yet flow in American veins, or that American mechanics had lost their skill, but because the great republic was dominated by a low, mean, selfish policy, mis-called protection, and American ships had been taxed off the ocean.

That was an American watch made by Americans who were not afraid of the competition of the whole world. The gentlemen whom he represented were manufacturers of that state—Pennsylvania—of which he was a native, which had been the keystone and the anchor of American protection, but they were alive to the impolicy, and hated its meanness, and like him were bent on doing their utmost to sweep away the whole accursed system, which more than anything else separated the two great nations that ought to be one people. In presenting that watch on behalf of the Keystone company, he hoped the day would soon come when Captain Murrell could steam into the Delaware, the Chesapeake, and the Hudson without meeting a single custom house officer, and he and the goods he brought be as unmolested and as untaxed as though they had come from another American state.

Captain Murrell, in returning thanks, said his ship was really owned by American capitalists.

"So much greater the shame and absurdity of the protection policy," replied Mr. George, "since it compels Americans to sail their ships under another flag."

One of the American capitalists who own the Missouri—a Boston man—was present with Captain Murrell, and we all came up together, the party including Richard McIlhee of Glasgow, who had gone down with me, the American capitalist, some city gentlemen, who had been active in getting up the London testimonial, and Captain Murrell's father and some of his other relatives, who were just as proud of him as men could be. In our talk Captain Murrell confided to me the information that if it were not necessary for him to remain a British subject in order to command his ship he would ere this have become an American citizen. The Boston capitalist overheard the flag end of the conversation. "Oh,"

he exclaimed, "you must not think of doing that! Don't you know that if you were to become an American citizen you could not command our ship?"

Is it not a beautiful system for the encouragement of American industry! If it were not for this protective tariff of ours it would have been an American ship and an American captain who would have had the honor of rescuing the crew and passengers of the Danmark—if in fact in place of the Danmark herself an American ship had not been running.

A beautiful system for the encouragement of American industry, that compels American capitalists to have their ships built in foreign yards and by foreign workmen, and to sail them under foreign flags and with foreign seamen, and makes the immense sums which Americans pay every year in freight and passage money go to swell the totals of foreign commerce. Thanks to the protective system, the only way an American can command a transatlantic ship is to renounce his allegiance to his native country and become a citizen of some foreign state. The captain of the Guion steamer Nevada is, for instance, an American by birth. But as the only alternative of abandoning his profession, he has had to give up his American citizenship and become a subject of her gracious majesty. But then, per contra, were it not for the protective system, Andrew Carnegie might not be able to own a castle in Scotland and to entertain so right royally on this side of the water. He has just, I see, made another reduction in the wages of his protected Pennsylvania workmen by way of giving them their share of the blessings of the American system for which Mr. Harrison's election insured another four years' lease of life.

Another illustration of the beauties of custom houses which Captain Murrell's case gives is, that when he brought to London the silver cup presented to him by the city of Baltimore, the custom house officers could not allow him to take it ashore without the payment of duty. The custom house officers themselves were so much ashamed of the blackmail which the law compelled them to levy on the captain, that they subscribed among themselves and made up the amount of the duty.

This is one of the things to show how far England is yet from being a free trade country. But so far as her relations with other countries are concerned, England is far more civilized than we. I received the watch through the post office from the Keystone company without any trouble or expense. If it had been sent the other way I could not have got it without a trip to the custom house, taking an oath and paying something like a hundred and twenty-five dollars. I cannot send a book from here to an American friend without knowing I am entailing on him an annoyance and a fine.

In writing from Birmingham I mentioned that while I was writing a gentleman had called on me to ask how he could best devote £2,000 to the service of the single tax cause. I did not want to say much about him then for I had not had time to talk to him and his plans had not taken definite form. Now, however, I am free to speak. He is D'Arcy Wentworth Reeve, of Bazildon, near Reading. Before he called on me at Birmingham I had only heard of him through Mr. Saunders, who

told me that a gentleman named Reeve, whom he had never heard of before, had sent a subscription of £100 toward the campaign fund, and had asked that he be called on when money was needed. Subsequently Mr. Saunders in writing me had mentioned that the same gentleman had offered to start a subscription for the publication of a weekly paper with £500. I told Mr. Reeve when he asked me as to the disposition of £2,000 more, that although he said he was perfectly willing to have it spent in any country where it would most advance the cause, it ought in my opinion to be spent in England, as we Americans ought to work out our own salvation, and that while I was certain it could be used in England to great advantage, I would not presume to advise, but suggested that he should consult some of our English friends. This he has done and their advice was that he should use it as on personal inquiry he should find best for stimulating the work. His first step has been to send £100 to the Financial reform association, with the following letter, which is published in the June number of the Financial Reformer:

Dear Sir—As one who thinks with Henry George that in the adjustment of taxation on an equitable basis lies our only hope of salvation from a social cataclysm, I have been attracted to your association by reading accounts of meetings addressed by him under its auspices. I am delighted to see that the Financial reform association recognizes that through the taxation of land values lies the only true road toward the abolition of poverty, and the establishment of a social condition based on justice and the natural rights of man.

It appears to me that it is in the direction you are now going that a reasonable and permanent solution of the labor problem must be sought, and the true remedy discovered for those disastrous commercial and agricultural crises which seem to be recurring not only at frequent, but at ever-lessening intervals of time, and with ever-increasing severity; and that in directing its efforts to the freeing of production and the forces of production from all taxation, the removal of all lines upon industry, and the substitution of a tax upon land values, the Financial reform association is aiming at making free the natural agent from which everything in the shape of wealth is produced. If this aim be secured there must naturally result a great increase in the production of wealth, and what is even still more important, a much fairer distribution of it; and in working on these lines you are marching onwards to the goal toward which we must press, in order to carry to its logical conclusion the great work begun nearly fifty years ago by Richard Cobden and John Bright.

In the step which the Financial reform association is now so vigorously urging—the abolition of all taxes which hamper industry and punish thrift—I see not merely a continuance of the work which Cobden began, but the realization of that vision of plenty and peace which nerved and led him on. He saw the harmony of natural laws, the great truth that freedom given to those impulses which prompt men to produce and exchange would expand to a system of the highest and widest co-operation, and would result in the largest production and the fairest distribution; a production so great, and a distribution so equitable, that the curse of poverty should be forever removed, and opportunities for the development of what is best and highest in human nature be opened, not to the few, but to all; and he saw that the spectacle of a nation which should trust fully to freedom, which should remove all restrictions upon production and exchange, must prove contagious; that her acceptance of the truth, that the best interests of the individual harmonize with the best interests of the whole community, would bring to her such manifold abundance that throughout the civilized world mankind would be forced to follow her lead, and to recognize that in unrestricted freedom of trade lies the true secret of national and universal prosperity.

I have therefore great pleasure in inclosing a check for £100 in furtherance of your efforts toward the recognition and adoption of these fundamental principles. I remain, yours faithfully, D'Arcy W. Reeve.

Reading, May 27, 1889.

As a second step Mr. Reeve, after consultation with Mr. Saunders, will in a day

or two offer £250 toward a fund of £1,000 for printing a pamphlet on the ground rents and taxation of London, which, with the active aid of the radical clubs is to be put into the hands of every voter of London. He will only insist that it shall be thoroughly radical and embody the single tax idea. Mr. Saunders says that with this beginning the rest of the money can readily be raised, and there can be no doubt of the effectiveness of the work. Once her shopkeepers and her business men are fairly aroused to their interest in the single tax, London will take as powerful a part in the movement as her money and her train bands used to take in the civil wars. And next week Mr. Reeve starts with our tireless friend, McGhee of Glasgow, for a trip to the north to visit the men, and personally see where a little of the sinews of war will add vigor to the propaganda.

Mr. Reeve is a young man of only twenty-eight who has inherited his wealth, and who, exempt from the struggle to get a living, can give to the cause personal services as well as money. He is a man of fine ability and if life is spared him, is, I am persuaded, one of the men who will come to the front in the great movement that is now beginning in Great Britain and that will make its first fair entrance into politics with the next general election. He himself is a native of England, but his wife, like his mother, is a native of Australia, where his grandfather, after whom he bears the name of Wentworth, was a prominent man in the early history of New South Wales.

Over and above the immediate and substantial stimulus to the work from Mr. Reeve's aid it is a pleasant and encouraging thing to find a man like this throwing effort and money into a good cause.

When I went to Reading where he made his first speech at our meeting, I accompanied him to his beautiful place on the Thames, which is surely calculated to content a man with things as they are, if he is one thus to be contented. But for him the future has something more important in life than to listen to the cawing of his rooks, to watch the restful flow of the river under his noble trees, to fill rooms with costly collections of eastern and antique art, to note the growth of his hot-house flowers and fruits, or to while away existence in the many pleasant ways open to those who have means in this paradise of the rich—for a seeming earthly paradise to the rich England really is, even though a coroner did this week sit in solemn inquest on the death of a little baby whose mother made three and sixpence a week by toiling night and day, making men's trousers at threepence a pair, and out of that paid two shillings a week for rent.

Mr. Reeve seems for some time to have felt that he ought to do something to help make this world a better place for others to live in, but did not know precisely what to do, like many another man of his class. Last year he gave £1,000 to trustees named by the Elusis club of London, to provide an annual prize for essays which for the first six years were to be on the following subjects: 1—Universal adult suffrage; 2—Abolition of the hereditary principle in legislation; 3—Disestablishment and disendowment of the state church; 4—The termination of private property in land; 5—A graduated income tax; 6—The advantages to be derived from the establishment of a good, sound, democratic republic.

This he did on the advice of some of the "radicals" of the Labouchere stamp whom he consulted. This year he has clearer ideas of what is needed.

Mr. Reeve's first impulse our way, came, he tells me, from buying a copy of "Social

Problems" from a newsboy on an American railroad train. He did not see the cat at the time—indeed, something prevented him from fully reading the book—but a vague notion remained and led later to more thought and reading. He is now and has been for some time a reader of THE STANDARD, which I found at his house.

I spoke this week at Kings Lynn, Lincoln, Woolwich and Maidstone, but I cannot find time to say anything about these meetings this week.

I am sorry to see in a clipping from the Sydney Mail that at a meeting of the Single tax association of Wagga Wagga it was resolved "That in future all motions irrelevant to land nationalism be out of order, and that discussions on free trade and protection be prohibited at our meetings." We in the United States know what this means, and we know that the earnest men among our Australian friends will get over the notion that it is wise to compromise on vital principle with men who have only half seen the cat.

HENRY GEORGE.

The Conference in Paris.

New York World.

PARIS, June 8.—The Paris papers here are paying much attention to the arrival of Henry George and to the conference of the single tax advocates, which is to be held at the Hotel Continental on next Tuesday. An influential French committee, including seven deputies, eight or nine municipal councilors and a large number of well known writers on economic subjects will co-operate in the meeting. The chiefs of the different schools of land reformers of Germany, Holland, Switzerland, Belgium and other continental countries will be present, besides the representatives of Great Britain, France, the United States and Australia. The initiative of the gathering has been taken by the Continental land reformers and has for its object the meeting with Mr. George and his English friends and of effecting such an understanding as will promote the growth of single tax opinions, which are just beginning to take root in France.

The World correspondent saw Mr. George to-day and asked him what ground the conference was likely to take with regard to socialism, which is just now the subject of much discussion.

"Socialism," answered Mr. George, "is such an indefinite term over here that it is hard to answer that question. Men who see the necessity of social improvement frequently call themselves socialists and are called socialists. I found them stronger in London than elsewhere, and not at all strong even in London. Socialism in this sense must yield to the single tax idea, which assigns an adequate cause to social injustice and advocates a definite and simple remedy. I seek no controversy with the socialists, but am willing to meet them under proper conditions."

"Are you going to Australia in October?" "It is not decided as yet. I have an urgent appeal to go there, and possibly I shall do so," replied Mr. George.

The Great Progress in England and Scotland.

Stourbridge, Eng., Advertiser.

Mr. Henry George's progress in Scotland and England has been marked everywhere by the gathering of great audiences, testifying at least to the prevalence of a deep interest in the question of the land which he has come over the Atlantic to discuss. The Public hall at Dudley was well filled on Wednesday evening to hear him. Mr. Charles Cochrane presided; and the statement he made in opening is beyond all doubt, that on the settlement of the Irish question there will be a great awakening in this country in reference to the land. Premonitions of the questions that will come up to be practically dealt with are to be found in the action taken by the county council of London. That body seems to be desirous of applying in some way to land in the metropolis the doctrine in relation to the "unearned increment" in the value of land as set forth by John Stuart Mill; and it is impossible to see why landed property, the value of which is enhanced by the gathering of a vast population around it, and by the improvements which that population carries out and pays for, should not be made in some way to contribute to the public burdens. It is not so long since Mr. Chamberlain made some rather drastic suggestions as to what was required to plant the people again upon the soil, and so ease that struggle for existence which year by year becomes more terrible, especially in great cities. At present the Irish question blocks the way, but meantime this may not be altogether a disadvantage, as clearer ideas as to what lines necessary reforms should proceed upon, cannot fail to issue from the discussion that will go on.

POLITICS IN SOUTH DAKOTA.

A Single Tax Central Committee Organized and Systematic Work Taken Up.

BRISTOL, South Dakota, June 3.—In THE STANDARD of June 1 there appear two dispatches copied from other papers declaring that a new party known as the single tax party had been formed in South Dakota, and had organized at Huron by the appointment of a central committee. The dispatch thus copied was inaccurate. The single tax men of Dakota are not foolish enough to start a third party movement. There was, however, an enthusiastic meeting of single tax men held in the court house at Huron on May 22, which organized the South Dakota single tax association, electing Judge Levi McGee of Rapid City president and W. E. Brokaw of Bristol secretary-treasurer.

Every single tax man in South Dakota is requested to send his full name and address to the secretary at once; and also the names and addresses of the following classes in the state whom he knows:

First, single tax workers; second, single tax free traders; 3d, single tax protectionists; fourth, sympathizers. The first class to include all who solicit signatures to the national petition, or who seek to spread the single tax agitation, whether they have fully "seen the cat" or not. The second class to include only those who have fully "seen the cat," whether they are workers or not. The third class to consist of those who have seen enough of the cat to believe in a tax on land values for local purposes but think a tariff (either for "protection" or revenue) necessary. The fourth class to include all who are interested and studying the subject. Any information regarding the persons which might assist in deciding what literature to send them will be welcomed.

Where there are local clubs the secretary should send a report of his work, furnishing the above requested information and giving a list of the membership of his club, together with any other information that may assist the state association in pushing the work. The state association assumes no authority over either local clubs or individual members. It simply seeks to keep a continual bird's-eye view of the work in the state, suggest, encourage, assist, and unify the work as much as possible.

The secretary desires to receive all the information possible concerning the work in every part of the state, both as to the present condition and future progress. No membership fee is charged. The expenses are to be met by contributions. Let every one send the secretary as much money, and as often, as he can. Open accounts will be kept and every cent accounted for. The amount and efficiency of the assistance the association can render you will depend largely upon the funds received from you. Small contributions just as welcome as large ones—a few stamps in a letter will help mail a few tracts. We want at least one correspondent in each county. Please volunteer for service.

W. E. BROKAW, Sec.

Richard Cobden's Birthday.

Following is a copy of the letter sent by William Lloyd Garrison to the Free trade club of Cleveland, Ohio, at its celebration of the birthday of Richard Cobden:

BOSTON, Mass., May 27, 1889.

W. S. Kerruish, Esq., President, Cleveland, Ohio: Dear Sir—I very much regret not to be able to join with the Free trade club of Cleveland in celebrating the birthday of Richard Cobden. He was not only the benefactor of England, but of the human race, and it is fitting that, in America's struggle for industrial freedom and equal opportunity, the memory of the great Englishman should be an inspiration and an aid. It is because of his sacrifices and labors and those of his noble coadjutors that Great Britain, emancipated from the narrow and insular policy of restriction, now leads the world in manufacture and commerce. The misery and wretchedness resulting from protection, was there fully exemplified. The degradation of the laborer was complete, and salvation was only possible through the abolition of the corn laws. "Famine itself," said John Bright, "against which we warred, joined us."

"Beautiful on the mountains are the feet of him that bringeth good tidings." The humblest home heard the voice of Cobden, and the hopeless regained courage at the sound of his brave words. Lifting with one hand the downtrodden and the poor, with the other he molded the policy of an empire and forced its reluctant prime minister to register the edict of emancipation. His was a life to stimulate the enthusiasm of youth and the gratitude of the age. Its value cannot be overestimated at a time like this, when a great people deludes itself with the absurd and medieval system of restriction, demoralizing, entrebbling and suicidal. Protection is the enemy of peace, the fountain of international jealousy, the waster of wealth, the robber of wages, the essence of barbarism. Yours, for its extirpation.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON.

Single Tax Before a State Senate Committee.

Another legislative committee has had the benefit of a clear exposition of the single tax doctrine. It was some little time ago Senator Burke of the Illinois state senate introduced a bill in favor of an amendment to the constitution which would abolish taxes on personal property and improvements and place all taxes on land values. He did this not because he was a single tax man, but because some of his constituents requested it.

As a result, there was a senate committee appointed, and a hearing was given to Messrs. John Z. White of Chicago, Colonel William Camm of Murrayville and Richard Weldon of Springfield, formerly of Mt. Vernon, N. Y. Colonel Camm led off, and at the conclusion of his speech answered questions. Messrs. White and Weldon followed. A good many of the committee who had left the room came back while Colonel Camm was talking and staid through to the end. Messrs. Walker, Hennessy, McCrea and others of the single tax club of Springfield, where the committee met, helped to give the occasion as much prominence as possible. It has done much good.

STRAWS WHICH SHOW THE WIND.

The single tax would take merely what land owners are now wrongfully absorbing, and would leave labor and capital, that is, all actual producers, their full proper returns. It would therefore be absolutely equal.—[Ocala, Fla., Banner.

Were there no inhabitants in Detroit the land would have no selling value, but as population began to creep in the value of the land would increase somewhere between \$500 and \$1,000 for each addition to the population.—[Detroit News.

A free government can not stand where the conditions are such as to only widen the gulf between the privileged few and the helplessness of many.

We have been watching with some interest and some surprise the progress of the "single tax" movement. While not being fully satisfied of the justice of the movement, or that it would work out the good claimed for it, we have from the first time we heard Henry George (several years ago) been impressed with the ability, honesty and high patriotic aims of its leader. Mistaken or not, he is no demagogue, nor are his followers anarchists in any sense. Mr. George has just been meeting enthusiastic crowds in England, and seems to be doing a great deal of proselyting. In our own land his disciples seem to be multiplying.—[Cincinnati Christian Standard.

Single Tax Men in Ohio Politics.

CANTON, Ohio.—The appearance of a letter on the single tax doctrine from A. J. Kintz, one of our most active men, in the Daily News-Democrat, the leading paper of this city and county, proves the wisdom of the course pursued last fall in voting for the democratic presidential candidates. The democratic press of this county has since given us all the space that we could reasonably expect.

Rev. E. E. Dresbach is announced as a possible candidate for state representative on the democratic ticket. Mr. Dresbach is an able single tax man, and was out on the stump for Cleveland last fall. He was formerly a prohibitionist. He has a fair chance of being nominated, and, if nominated, he certainly will be elected.

It is whispered here that Tom L. Johnson of Columbus may be the democratic candidate for governor. With E. E. Dresbach standing for representative and Tom L. Johnson for governor, the single tax men of Stark county can stand democracy. But they will be satisfied with nothing less.

A. E. KNISELY.

For the Welcome Home to Henry George.

The joint committee appointed to arrange for a reception to Henry George on his return home next month, had a meeting at the Manhattan single tax club rooms on Friday evening, June 7.

William T. Croasdale, whose address is 36 Clinton place, New York, was elected permanent chairman, and Edwin A. Curley, of 57 Concord street, Brooklyn, permanent secretary.

It was unanimously resolved that if Mr. George's arrival can be suitably timed, the largest steamer that can be obtained be chartered to meet him down the bay. Messrs. Leverson of the Manhattan, Curley of the Brooklyn Central and Brown of the Westside New York club were appointed a sub-committee to gather particulars concerning steamers and report at the next meeting.

The advisability of holding a conference of single tax men during the week following Mr. George's arrival will be considered at the next meeting, which will be held at the same place on Saturday evening, June 15.

Mr. Croasdale in Staten Island.

William T. Croasdale delivered an address before an association of workmen in West New Brighton, last Monday evening, on the subject of "The Rights of Property." Considering the hot night the gathering was large. Rev. Pascal Harrower, rector of the Episcopal church of the place, presided, and a number of a representative men sat in the audience. Mr. Croasdale's address was a very thoughtful one, and held the close attention of his audience to the end. A number of questions were then put to the lecturer, who answered them to the apparent satisfaction of all present.

A Word of Warning.

The pent-up steed kept short o' feed
Is wildest in his roamin';
And dammed-up streams, wi' angry gleams
Dash o'er each hindrance fannin'.
Therefore (I pray, take what I say
In spirit, not in letter),
Mankind should be like rivers, free—
The less they're dammed the better.
Philadelphia, June 9. TARIFF FRAUD.

HENRY GEORGE IN MANCHESTER.

THE FINANCIAL REFORM ASSOCIATION'S GREAT MEETING IN FREE TRADE HALL.

A. D. Provand, M. P., in the Chair and J. Hampden Jackson, Editor of the Financial Reform Almanac, Presents the Resolutions—Urging a Further Reduction of the British Tariff and the Substitution of a Tax on Land Values—Henry George's Speech in Support of the Resolutions—Much Enthusiasm Evoked—Answering Questions.

From the Liverpool Financial Reformer for June.

On May 21 a meeting was held in the Free Trade Hall, Manchester. The chair was taken by Mr. A. D. Provand, M. P., and among other gentlemen on the platform were Messrs. Henry George, Thomas Crosfield (Liverpool), J. Hampden Jackson (editor of the Financial Reform Almanac), Gilbert Purvis (London), Thomas Briggs (London), Ed. Lefevre (London), W. Glover (editor of the Northern Advocate), Rev. Dr. Macfadyen, Rev. H. H. Brayshaw, Rev. Silas Farrington, Rev. W. G. Cadman, Rev. James Duthie, Rev. G. Hitchin (Heywood), Rev. J. Fletcher, Rev. T. G. Hunter, Rev. Henry Cameron, Messrs. H. Slatter, W. S. Wanby, Rd. McGhee (Glasgow), Councilor Cooper, Councilor Mason, H. Coffey, J. E. Lawton, Chas. Rawley, S. L. Chadwick, J. F. Alexander, Jno. Thomas, R. N. Phillips, W. J. Smith, W. Wilkinson, Alex. Farquharson, J. H. Shuttleworth, L. Greenwood (Haslington), Jos. Leaver, W. Maclean (Radcliffe), W. Trevor, E. Makin (Radcliffe), Wm. Coates (Bury), W. P. Sinclair, Wm. Thompson, Wm. Spencer, Wm. Evans, Miss Mary Breakall, Mrs. Thomas Briggs, Messrs. Adam Deo, Q. C. (Oldham), Jno. Hepworth (Oldham), Hugh T. Orr, Edwin Rhind, P. C. Ford, Robert Dixon, George Bastock, G. A. Thrustle, Hugh Hughes, Joseph Farrar (Oldham), A. P. Whitehead, Jas. Middleton, T. Hepworth, R. M. Hall, R. B. Rattray, A. M. Wainwright, Thos. Lancaster, Thos. Thurman, Jno. Craig, Geo. Cross, R. Nicholson, Jno. Richardson, Wm. Dunning, Jos. M. Hodgson, Jos. Moore, M. L. Mollis (Leeds), Wm. McGlone, Linnæus Greening, Jos. Dawson, J. J. Cowman, Hankinson Luke, Wm. Massey, E. Waincott (Bury), J. W. S. Callie (secretary), W. M. J. Williams (agent and collector), F. L. Crilly, of the Financial reform association.

Chairman Provand's Address.

The chairman said: I think the Financial reform association of Liverpool is to be congratulated upon being able to get such a meeting together on a fine night in May. It was considered a very risky thing to attempt a meeting in the Free Trade Hall at this time of the year; but those who, like myself, know the interest which Manchester takes in all political questions, were certain there would be a good audience to hear what our friend Mr. George had to say.

I may succinctly state that the objects of the association are to inform and educate the public mind as to the best methods of imposing taxation, and also, what is of equal if not of greater importance, the best methods of disposing of the proceeds of taxation. Of course we have not all identical views in relation to these questions. There are the differences between us that are always to be found among reformers of all kinds; but our differences are not of principle, but relate only to methods and details. But there is one point on which I may claim for us absolute uniformity of opinion, and that is that we all desire to see reforms in our method of taxation, and also in the ways in which the money is applied. I think it is no exaggerated claim when I say that this question must take precedence over all other political questions. I have said there are differences even between taxation reformers as to methods and details; but there are some taxes and some methods about which there is absolutely no room for difference of opinion among those who really desire to see reform; and we intend to-night to offer you a resolution which will give you an opportunity of expressing your opinion with regard to taxation on food as compared with land.

Address by J. Hampden Jackson.

Mr. J. Hampden Jackson, editor of the Financial Reform Almanac, said: I have pleasure in moving the resolution:

That this meeting urges the abolition of the duties upon tea, coffee, cocoa, dried fruits, and gold and silver plate, and the substitution of a tax upon land values (apart from buildings), levied whether the land be put to use or not.

I know so well what is the central object of this meeting that you may trust me not to take up too much of your time in keeping you from the pleasure of hearing Mr. George—to take up no more of your time than is necessary to explain to this meeting, which is convened under the auspices of the Financial reform association, what the Financial reform association is, and what are its objects. The first launch of this association of ours was made in Manchester, at a small meeting of which Mr. Cobden was a leading spirit (applause), and at that meeting, which was a

meeting of the men who had been mainly instrumental in Lancashire in pushing the Anti-corn law league, it was decided that the new association ought to carry on the work of free trade to its completion, and ought to have its headquarters in Liverpool and not in Manchester. Well, sir, it is that work in which we are now engaged. The campaign on which we are now entering to-night, and in which we have the welcome aid of Mr. George (applause), is a campaign for the further extension of free trade.

You never can have economical government till you get just taxation. (Hear, hear.) Until the taxpayers of this country know how and what they are paying to the support of the state, how can you have a solid and healthy body of public opinion brought to bear on the party or administration that has the spending of the money? Quite impossible. Therefore we have said from the beginning, that it is an essential part of economical government that you should have just taxation; and you cannot have just taxation until you have direct taxation. Mr. George is a direct taxationist. (Applause.) So long as you have indirect taxation, even if it be levied but on one article, you cannot have perfect freedom of trade. That is pretty clear. So it will be seen that the planks of our platform are pretty well plaited together, and that if you give your support to one of them you are bound to support the three. That is our platform—economical government, just taxation, and perfect freedom of trade.

ESTIMATES OF LAND VALUES IN ENGLAND.

In advocating the re-introduction of the state rents on the land of the country, we are charged with being advocates of a doctrine of confiscation. That charge can only be made by persons who are ignorant of the merits of the question with which they are dealing, or else by persons whose political economy and constitutional history are alike derived from fallacious sources. It cannot have been, we maintain, for the true and lasting benefit of any class in this country that for 230 years the state should have been defrauded of those rents, and that the cost of government, almost the entire cost of government, should have devolved with crushing weight from its natural support on to the laboring millions of the country. (Hear, hear.)

We say that you cannot tax the processes of trade without injury to the men who work at those trades, nor can you by excise and customs duties get an enormous revenue without unduly mauling the buyers of the goods on which the duties are imposed, and by doing that you will maul people in inverse proportion to their means; that is to say, the poorest of the people will have to pay the largest percentage. Now, the poor people, it must be remembered, are the base of our social pyramid. I come back, therefore, to the statement with which I started and I say that it cannot be for the benefit of any class in the country that you should do that which injures the base of the social pyramid. (Hear, hear.) Whether sophists malign us or not, whether the press maligns us or not, whether the liberal or conservative party attacks us, we must go on demanding just taxation, mainly in the direction of further taxation on land, and the restitution to the state of those rents which were unjustly taken off the shoulders of the landed interest two hundred and thirty years ago. This is not a political question, or a question of class, it is a great question of public justice. (Applause.) During the last two hundred and twenty years nearly £700,000,000 of the public revenue has been taken from trade and labor which should have come from the constitutional rents of the land of this country. The vast bulk of that enormous sum has been taken during the reign of the present sovereign; £450,000,000 of it has been taken during the reign of Victoria.

In the city of London, land of £419,000,000 value pays only half a million a year in local and imperial taxes put together, while personality and buildings, valued at £212,000,000, pay £7,000,000 a year in local and imperial taxes. Well, that is called equalizing taxation, I suppose. The time is coming when we shall equalize to a different tune than that. (Hear, hear.)

THERE SHOULD BE A NEW LAND TAX.

We say the six or seven millions which would be needed to replace the breakfast table taxes should be obtained from a new land tax. (Applause.) And if taxation is to be levied upon just principles a proper survey must be made, and all land taxed at its occupation value whether it is occupied or not. (Applause.) There are great plots of land lying fallow in this country, and consequently paying nothing toward taxation. This land is kept empty at your expense till the time comes when the selfish owners are able to reap an enormous profit. Then there are the mining royalties which have too long escaped bearing their share of the public burdens. The great ornamental parks which surround the habitations of noblemen, deer forests, and the enormously valuable land in the great towns must all be made to contribute. I passed a pile of buildings in London the other day of which the ground rent alone is levied at the rate of £31,000 an acre, and that land at present is escaping local taxation. We oppose the taxes on tea, coffee, cocoa and dried fruits, because they are taxes on food. We oppose them because they are barriers in the way of temperance reform. We oppose them because they discourage the trade between this country and its own colonies.

We oppose them because they are indirect taxes, and because they are customs duties, expensive in collection and subversive of the principles of free trade. (Applause.) I beg to move "That this meeting urges the abolition of the duties upon tea, coffee, cocoa, dried fruits, and gold and silver plate, and the substitution of a tax upon land values, levied whether the land be put to use or not." On behalf of the Financial reform association I ask you not only to support the resolution, but to do what you can in the city of Manchester to further the cause we have at heart. (Applause.)

Mr. Gilbert Purvis said that after the excellent speech which had just been heard, the audience would excuse him doing any more than heartily seconding the resolution.

The chairman then said Mr. Henry George would support the resolution.

Henry George's Speech.

Henry George, who was received with great applause, said: I am a believer in home rule. I believe it is the right of every community, be it small or large, to manage all things that relate to itself, without let or hindrance from anyone else. Nevertheless, I am glad, and I feel honored that you, Mr. President, and you, the gentlemen of the Liverpool financial reform association, have given to me as an American the privilege of supporting this resolution. I do it most heartily, and I do it as an American and as a representative of a great and daily increasing body of men, the free traders of the United States. (Applause.) And I do it, not in reference to your own affairs alone, but in reference to the affairs of the world. The question of free trade is more than a local question. As Richard Cobden said, free trade is, indeed, the international law of God. If we ever see it, we shall see that it is indeed the peace-maker; we shall see that it has power to knit the nations together into fraternal bonds; that it has power to disband the standing army, to still the war drum, and to bring on that era of peace and prosperity and brotherly love of which the poets have always sung, and the seers have always told. (Applause.) As an American and an American free trader, I feel it to be a privilege to stand on the platform of the free trade hall at the request of an association that is the true representative to-day of the great Anti-Corn law league that a generation ago did so much—to stand here in the presence of men who like my good friend Mr. Thomas Briggs, stood by Richard Cobden in support of that great movement. (Applause.) After all our advances, after all our conquests, there are two things of which we, the great kindred people of the English speaking race on both sides of the Atlantic have most reason to be proud as having occurred during the century. One of these on our side of the water was the movement that struck the chains from the limbs of chattel slave. (Applause.) And the corresponding movement on this side of the water was that great movement which began in the city of Manchester, and was led by Richard Cobden, and which took the first step in the direction of free trade. (Applause.) I stand here to-night to support the resolution with all my might as the first effort towards another great step—towards the final victory of the principle for which the greatest Englishman of our time strove.

THE PROGRAMME OF THE FINANCIAL REFORM ASSOCIATION.

If I only saw in that resolution the abolition of the duty on tea, the duty on coffee, the duty on gold and silver plate, I would not waste much time upon it. It is good to have plenty of tea, plenty of coffee, and plenty of gold and silver plate. But I see in that resolution more than the abolition of the duty upon those things. (Applause.) I see in the resolution what Richard Cobden saw in the abolition of protective duties, a clear and decided step in the advance toward a state of things in which poverty shall cease to exist. (Applause.) And to me the appeal in its support is the appeal that Richard Cobden made to John Bright: "There are to-night in England women and children dying of hunger—of hunger made by the laws. Come with me, and we will never rest till we repeal these laws." (Applause.) This is the free trade hall. Some Englishmen think that England is a free trade country. I don't! Nor measured by the standard of Richard Cobden is it. When the principle for which he fought is fully incorporated in the laws and institutions of this country, there will be no more starvation in England. The men who began the work have ceased from their labors; it is ours to carry it on still further. (Applause.) You have no more secured free trade than we in the United States have abolished slavery. What we did was simply to abolish one crude form of slavery which consists in making property of the man himself. Slavery still exists in the United States—aye, and with our advances slavery is broadening and deepening. It is no longer chattel slavery; it is industrial slavery. (Applause.) That form of slavery is more widespread, more insidious, and in some of its results more revolting than the system that makes property of the man himself. It is the slavery which comes from the system that makes property of the element on which man must live, if he lives at all, on which man must work, if he works at all. (Hear, hear.) They denounce you, Mr. Jackson; they denounce the Financial reform association, and say it is radical, and perhaps worse.

Why, that is the very sign and symbol of your mission, the very token by which men may know that your association is indeed

THE TRUE SUCCESSOR OF THE ANTI-CORN LAW LEAGUE.

Did not they denounce the Anti-corn law league? (Hear, hear.) Were not the few men who fifty years ago made memorable, made illustrious, this city of Manchester by meeting here and forming that association—were not they denounced in far worse terms? Why, what were they told by cabinet ministers? To repeal the corn laws! That it would bring destruction upon industry (laughter)—that it would sweep away the very foundations of church and state. (Laughter.) Lord Melbourne—he was a very intelligent lord, as lords went in his day (laughter)—did not he get up in the house of commons, and did not he say: "I have heard many mad things in my life, but before God the maddest thing I ever heard is this mad proposal to repeal the corn laws." (Laughter.) When a deputation went to another member of the government, Sir James Graham—was not that his name ("Yes")—the speakers presented to him the deplorable condition of the laborers, and did not he turn round to them and indignantly say: "Gentlemen, it seems to me you are levellers. Am I to understand that you consider that the laborers of this country have any interests in the estates of the landowners?" When they presented reports and statistics showing the great distress in the commercial centers, were they not met just as the men who do such things to-day are met? Sir Robert Peel and others told them: "This cannot be. Why, the consumption of cotton is increasing, as statistics show. This cannot be. Why, statistics show there is more food consumed in England than is consumed per head in Prussia?" And did not the duke of Wellington say, and thank God for it, that this was the only country in the world in which a man who was willing to work and to save could get a comfortable existence? (Laughter.) Denounced! Why, without exception, the whole of the newspaper press of the country denounced this movement. The early free traders had to buy any place they got in the newspapers for the publication of their reports. Men like my friend Mr. Briggs know those things. This generation has to a large extent forgotten them. (Hear, hear.) Aye, but truth is mightier than all things else. That commercial traveler, that calico printer of Manchester, whom no one had ever heard of before outside of his little commercial circle, set himself against parliament, in both houses, exclusively, or almost exclusively, composed of the land-owning class. He set himself against the press, against the church, against all the organs of power and influence. Everything was against the movement but truth, but justice. They were on its side. (Applause.) And they were stronger than all. (Hear, hear.) So do not bate your breath, Mr. Jackson, and men of the Financial reform association. You have behind you, if you will but avail yourselves of it, the power that is stronger than anything else—the appeal to men's consciences, the appeal to men's hearts, the appeal to men's sense of right, the appeal to the first perceptions of men, and the harmony of the universal laws. What carried Richard Cobden into the agitation, whose first step was such a quick and brilliant success? No selfish motive. It was because he saw around him men willing to work and unable to get employment; because he saw women and little children suffering, starving, dying for what the Creator had provided in abundance. It was that that nerved him to the fight, and that was the spirit of his struggle. That is the spirit that will carry this movement on. (Applause.)

HOW TO GET RID OF OUR SLUMS.

That is what the ticket says I am to speak of to-night. Aye, and consider your slums all over this country, from your great capital, the great metropolis of the world, where human beings are crowded together, hundreds of thousands of them, under conditions of which a savage would be ashamed, up to the north, where your farm laborers, men and women, are housed, I should rather say herded, in bothies. Consider such facts as that 125,000 of the population of Glasgow are living whole families in a single room—(hear, hear)—that most of the miners of Scotland, as the secretary of the association tells me, live whole families or more in one room. Consider these revelations regarding Manchester that one of your papers, the Sunday Chronicle—(applause)—is publishing. How to get rid of slums? There is a sovereign recipe. It consists of two words—Free Trade. Carry out the principle of free trade and your slums will disappear.

ENGLAND AND FULL FREE TRADE.

Last autumn, when I was stumping my own country for Mr. Cleveland and free trade—(applause)—I never posed before any audience as a tariff reformer. I would reform the tariff just as the man cut off the tail of the mad dog—right behind the ears. (Laughter.) The protectionists would ask me: "If what you say of free trade is true, how is it there is pauperism in England—how is it that wages are so low when England is a free trade country?" My answer was, "that is because England is not a free trade country. (Hear, hear.) When England is a free trade country all that will have disappeared." England is not a free trade country, although

it has started on the road to free trade. But, thank God, the people of England are awakening for another stride forward. (Applause.) How to get rid of your slums? There was not bread enough in the country. Clearly, the taxation on bread was a bad thing. (Hear, hear.) There are not enough houses in the country. Just as clearly, is not the tax on houses a bad thing? (Hear, hear.) Free trade—what does it mean? It means the removal of all restraint, of all lines upon the production of wealth. (Applause.) Free trade is good simply because trade is an important mode of producing wealth, and just as free trade requires not merely the abolition of protective duties, but the abolition of every tax that interferes with foreign trade; so, also, to carry out this principle it is requisite to abolish every tax on domestic trade, or upon any form of domestic production. (Applause.) And when this is carried out to the full extent, you come to the point where it is but one step further to abolish the primary wrong, the essential injustice, that is to-day the bottom cause of all social and political difficulties—to secure to every man and to every woman and to every child born in a country, an equal right to the use of the land in that country. (Applause.) To abolish all the taxes that rest upon the products of human industry, to abolish all the taxes that seek to fine and punish men for being industrious or getting rich, what is it but to come of necessity to the taxing of land values for the support of government, and from that there is but one step further—the taking of the whole of the land values for the benefit of the people. (Applause.) I believe there is a fallacy in taxation, and I believe that neither our chairman nor the Financial reform association will be disposed to dispute my assertion, that although in form we propose to substitute one tax for other taxes, yet it is merely in form, and that in reality what we propose to do is to abolish all taxation—(hear, hear)—because the imposition of

A TAX ON LAND VALUES WOULD ONLY BE IN FORM A TAX.

In its nature it is but taking for the use of the community the rent which is due, not to the individual land owners, but to the community. (Applause.) There is another thing in which I would differ. I would not put the objection to taxes that are now levied—the objection to the income tax, to the tax on tea, to the death duty that falls on personal property, and takes away from the children a large portion of what their father may leave them—I would not object to those taxes on matters of expediency, on matters of detail, on matters relative to justice. I believe the true objection to them is on a matter of right. I believe that when the state takes from the individual what properly belongs to that individual, the state robs the individual. I believe that if a man increases his income by his own exertions, he is entitled to the whole of that income. (Applause.) I believe that if a man imports a pound of tea by sending to the countries where tea is grown some of his own productions, the whole of the tea belongs to him, and that neither a half, a third, nor a tenth of it ought to be confiscated by the community. (Applause.) And I believe that if a man builds a house that house belongs to him entirely. What an individual adds to the wealth of the country and to the wealth of the world, ought to be that individual's against the whole world. And any community can afford to leave it to the individual, if it will only take what belongs to the community itself. Why, these land values which now escape taxation, to whom do they belong? To the people. And for what reason? Because the people created them. (Applause.) Why do such enormous values attach to the land of this island to-day? Because the land owners are here? Why, let everybody else emigrate, and leave only the land owners, and how much will the land be worth? (Applause.) It will be worth mighty little, I can tell you. Why are the land values so great in Manchester? Because the whole people of Manchester are here. Why are the land values so great in London? Because of its great population, and the fact that it is a great center of exchanges. Every family that comes and settles here, every public improvement that is made, adds to the value of land.

HOW PUBLIC IMPROVEMENTS INCREASE LAND VALUES.

You of Manchester are engaged in a very commendable enterprise in bringing water from the lake country, and have to pay pretty dearly for it. You have to pay for the privilege of taking the water, for the rain which falls from heaven and collects in the lake country is not supposed to fall for the benefit of the whole people; it belongs to the landowner. (Laughter.) Then you have had to buy a big hillside for the purpose of collecting the rain, and you have also had to pay for the privilege of laying the pipes from the lake down here to the city. This water supply will make Manchester a better place to live in, but who will reap the money value of that? The owners of the land of Manchester! You people of Manchester have another great enterprise on hand. You are making a canal which you hope will bring up here ships that cross the Atlantic, and make Manchester a seaport. What will be the result? You will do just what Mr. Gladstone told the people of London they had been doing by expending money on the Thames embankment—adding to the fortunes of the landowners adjoining the embankment. Do what you please, im-

prove as you may, you won't find that cloth is of any more value in Manchester, you won't find that horses increase in value, or that iron or houses will sell for more. On the contrary, the tendency is always to a decrease in the value of these things as progress diminishes the cost of production. The one thing you will find going up in value is land. The effect of your forward step in abolishing the system of protection has been to enormously increase your wealth and your commerce, but the lion's share of this increase the landowners have already got. And although many men besides the landlords have become rich, it is only by intercepting for a little while what the landlords must ultimately get. You may see the whole process. In the city of London there are large blocks of buildings in business parts of the city which have fallen in to the dukes of Portland and Bedford. What has been the result? Rents have gone up eight or ten-fold. Ultimately the landlord, the man who owns the indispensable element, can squeeze all other owners; and although a manufacturer here and a manufacturer there, if he be sheltered a little from competition by some sort of a monopoly, may make money for a while, ultimately the landlord will get the whole increased value.

Now to end that; to give to every man an opportunity of exerting his powers, and of profiting by that exertion; to remove the cause that brings biting poverty into the very centres of wealth, the cause that in the midst of enlightenment is producing ignorance, the cause that is driving out of the world every year thousands and thousands of little children who have hardly got here; the cause that is making the average life of a man of the working class only 25 years while the average life in the idle rich class is 55 years—to remove this you must carry free trade to its ultimate limit; leaving to the individual all that individual industry, or energy, or forethought, or thrift can produce or accumulate; taking for the community that value that attaches to land by reason of the growth of the community. When that is done, then, indeed, will England lead the world. When that is done your prosperity will be so great, the condition of your people so good, that the whole world will look upon you with envy and admiration and the whole world will follow you. (Cheers.) And if you do not do it first, we on the other side of the Atlantic will. The great struggle has commenced there, and there can be but one result. And so I most heartily support this motion. (Cheers.)

The resolution was then put to the meeting and carried unanimously.

THE CHAIRMAN: A number of questions have been sent up in writing. I will read out these questions, and no doubt Mr. George will be willing to answer them.

Answering Questions.

Question.—If free trade will remove poverty, how do you explain the Savior's declaration that "the poor ye shall have with you always?"

Answer.—Because he was talking to the scribes and pharisees and hypocrites. (Laughter and applause.)

Q.—Considering that the land and the wealth it contains are essentially necessary for the happiness and prosperity of a people, are the people justified in adopting any means to regain possession of it?

A.—Justified in adopting any means? Yes. But there is only one means, and that is education. If in any country in the world the people are oppressed and robbed it is simply because they are ignorant. (Applause.) Forceful means can never really accomplish anything, for the reason that force does not educate.

Q.—Do you consider that industrial slavery is caused by individual ownership of land?

A.—I do.

Q.—Do you consider that industrial slavery is caused by the aggregations of capital?

A.—No: the aggregation of capital cannot cause industrial slavery. You can aggregate capital as much as you please, so long as you leave to labor the raw material.

Q.—Please tell us how you mean the people to get hold of the land?

A.—I am glad a gentleman in the audience said some time ago "no politics." The Financial reform association ought to do nothing to keep off any Tories who want to help on these reforms. But the only way to get reforms carried through in a country like this is by making them political questions. And the way to get the land back is not to take actual possession of it. Let the land owners keep their land. Do you simply put taxes on land values. (Laughter and applause.)

Q.—Suppose the land owners were made to pay twenty shillings in the pound as taxes, would such taxation prevent the labor market from being overstocked with unemployed laborers, or in any way prevent capital from exploiting the wealth producers?

A.—Unquestionably it would. If you were to tax land values twenty shillings in the pound, no one would want to be a land owner. (Laughter.) You would see how soon he would want to sell out. (Laughter.) But land will be just as valuable as ever, nay, much more valuable to land users, and when there are no land owners compelling natural opportunities to go unutilized, when land is only profitable to the land user, and only so long as he uses it, you will find plenty of land in Great Britain and Ireland for labor to use, and then your capitalist cannot

exploit labor. Labor, so long as its feet rest on land, cannot be crushed. What does labor need? Simply one thing—justice. All that labor need ask is free play, and that was what Richard Cobden saw. What he saw by the repeal of the corn laws was the beginning of a movement for the repeal of all laws that imposed restrictions. What he saw was the natural harmony of God's laws; what he saw was that the Creator had put here enough for all, and that the only thing that produced poverty and want in this nineteenth century were the restrictions placed on labor. Sweep them away—remove all restrictions. Give to natural forces their free play, let men gratify their innocent desires, and you will have wealth, not in the hands of a few, but of all. Make no mistake—there is no conflict between labor and capital. (Cries of "Oh.") The real conflict is between labor and monopoly (applause), and of all monopolies the monopoly of the indispensable element, the monopoly of land, which is and must be the standing place, the workshop, the reservoir of all men, is the most fundamental and the most important. Break that up, and then it will be easy work to deal with other monopolies. Don't be led away. Strike at the root of the evil tree; do not go fooling with its branches. Strike for the land, for your rights in the soil. (Applause.) As for capital, what is capital? Why, it is merely a derivative factor of production. What is capital? It is merely the product of labor exerted on land. Give labor land, and every laborer will become a capitalist. (Applause.) This unnatural divorce system between men who have the capital, men who have the land, and men who have only their labor will cease to be. God never made a landless man. He made the land before He brought men upon it, and He made the land for all men. (Applause.) Give each man his birthright, and then every man who chooses to work and chooses to save a little will become a capitalist. (Applause.)

Q.—To tax land unless the ownership was vested in the state would be to increase the rent, and the balance remaining to the landlord would remain the same. Is that not so?

A.—Oh, no, it is not so.

Q.—If the change you advocate is accomplished, will not the land be cultivated for the benefit of the capitalists, they being able to pay most rent for its use; and if so, how will the worker be better off, seeing that the capitalist will still be his master?

A.—If the capitalist rents the land under that system, if he pays the taxes upon its value, that value will be fixed by the demand of the people, and that value will go to them. If capitalists do all the cultivation and use all the land, why, all that the capitalists are compelled to pay to the land will be shared by the laborers. Put a tax on the extent of its full value on land, and who can afford to hold the land idle? The man who holds it must use it, and to use it he must employ labor or he will have to sell out or give up to somebody who will. (Applause.) If men then choose to hold great tracts of the country for deer parks, and so forth, as they are doing in Scotland to-day, they will have to pay the full rate that the crofters would give to cultivate it. (Applause.) If men around your cities choose to hold land idle, as they are doing to-day, for building rents, they would under that system, have to pay as much as would be paid if the buildings were already on it. (Applause.) And they cannot shift that tax. The tax on land values, as any economist of repute will tell you, is a tax that must be borne by the owner, who cannot shift it onto the tenant. Abolish the tax that is at present imposed on the tenants of the houses, and the rents of the houses will be lowered. Put that on the landlord, and how will that reduce the supply of land or tend to reduce it? You can tax land values all you please, and there won't be a square inch less land in the kingdom. Instead of making it more difficult to supply the demand you will force land now held idle into the market. If the capitalist is to-day master of the laborer, it is because the monopoly of land makes labor helpless by depriving it of the element without which labor cannot be exerted. Break that up and labor will be its own master.

THE CHAIRMAN after a few words explanatory of a point in the resolutions which had been adopted earlier in the evening, moved a vote of thanks to Mr. George which was responded to with general applause.

Mr. Edward Wainscott then took the floor and said: I rise for the purpose of seconding the resolution moved by our chairman. Mr. George is called an American prophet. I only wish that Mr. George had been an Englishman. I believe he is the greatest writer on political questions that this or any other century we read of has ever had. I believe he is reforming the political economy of the world, and that before very long the system known as "George's" will be taught in the universities throughout the civilized world. I have the greatest pleasure in seconding the vote of thanks to Mr. George for his grand lecture this evening. (Applause and interruption.)

Mr. George: There is a knot of men in the middle of the hall who seem to wish to ask a question. If they do, I am ready to reply to it.

A man in the middle of the hall: I have sent up six questions to the chairman, and the chairman has asked Mr. George only one. I want Mr. George to reply to the others.

The Chairman: I did not put them to Mr.

George, because he had already in effect answered them.

The man in the middle of the hall proceeded to put his questions.

Q.—If the land owners have no right to monopolize the earth's surface, what right have the people to monopolize what is beneath?

A.—The raw material beneath the earth is land.

Q.—If the land owners have no right to claim rent from the agricultural laborers for cultivating the soil, what right have capital monopolists to claim profits out of the commodities produced by the workers, when the materials used come from beneath the land which you say ought to be nationalized?

A.—No one has any right to make a charge upon God's bounty. Rent, that bonus which attaches to the use of land, ought to go to the whole people, and not to any individual. But my advice to you is to find out the distinction between land and capital.

Q.—Why do you not advocate the destruction of all monopolies, so as to give the laboring community, to the fullest extent, the product of their labors?

A.—So I do. I advocate the abolition of monopoly, and I would begin with the greatest and most important of all—the land.

Mr. GEORGE: I have now to move a vote of thanks to our chairman. I don't think he and I agree in all things, but I hope the day is not far distant when a majority of the members of the house of commons will be ready to take the step indicated in the resolution. I see that Mr. Stanhope, the representative of a district in the Black country, made a speech last night in which he declared in favor of putting taxes on land values. To such a man give your support. Now, I have the pleasure of moving a hearty vote of thanks to the chairman. (Applause.)

The Rev. Dr. Macfayden—I have much pleasure in seconding this resolution. Our chairman said at the beginning of the meeting that we disagreed on many points, but I think everybody will be of one mind that he deserves our thanks for the fairness with which he has conducted the meeting. (Applause.)

This brought the proceedings to a close.

Between the Devil and the Deep Sea.

Recently in the "city court" of Yonkers-on-the-Hudson were brought two men, both criminals before the law, but charged with diametrically opposite offenses. One was charged with vagrancy—having no visible means of support—in other words, being out of work. The other man was fined and dragged back to jail for being employed in disposing of his own goods for money.

The way to heaven we are told is very narrow, so also is the way to work in Yonkers. It cost the man that was working \$25 for being at work. What it will cost the other for not working has not yet been determined.

Yonkers, N. Y. EDWARD JENNINGS.

A Lesson From Tasmania.

Thomas Hoffman in the Australian Standard.

In Tasmania I find the land is fertility itself. The climate is the best in all the colonies. Coal, iron, tin, lead, silver, and gold, are all present in payable quantities, still the appearance of the islands is the strangest imaginable. Everything is in a state of decay. I was there this time twelve months, and at Launceston I saw six houses in course of erection; at Hobart I saw one partly built house, but work was stopped, as I was told, to allow the tax collector to make his yearly assessment before the building was completed, for they do not tax a partly built house. In the whole city of Hobart there was no other house being built! I stayed there several days and took pains to ascertain.

I stayed at a town called Ross, on the main line of railway from Launceston to Hobart, in which there was just one new building, a weatherboard shed that cost about £150. All the other buildings were moss-covered, and looked fully twenty years old. I went from Ross to St. Mary's; this town looked better, being the terminus of the railway and a new place. From there I went to Falmouth by coach and there found the same signs of decay. At Falmouth there is just one public house, and though a large one, it was crowded, and I had to content myself with a shake down on a sofa. I asked the publican why he did not enlarge his premises. His reply told the whole story. It was as follows:

"In this district the rate of tax under the Local government bill is ninepence in the pound. Now, if I spend £500 in additions to my house, the tax collector will be down on me, so I just rub along as best I can." I said: "Well, I suppose that is the reason why I have not seen a new building, a new fence, or even a new gate, all the way from St. Mary's here." He answered: "Yes, that is the reason." So it is all over the island. Things are not only old-fashioned, but old; no one dares to build a new house as long as he can manage to live in the old one. And when a new one is built, cheapness, not comfort, is the main consideration.

I do not wish to be understood that I have not fully considered the protective tariff in Tasmania. It is a heavy one, and the effect is most baneful, but although it makes building materials dear, I still think the publican at Falmouth would have managed to pay more for his iron, nails, screws, bolts, paint, varnish, &c., &c., but it was the yearly tribute of ninepence in the pound that deterred him.

THE PETITION.

SINGLE TAX ENROLLMENT COMMITTEE,
NEW YORK, June 11.

There has been a slight improvement in the receipt of signatures during the week, though from all parts of the country come letters saying that the season is not a convenient one for canvassing for names.

Pamphlets and blanks have gone out and been received by all signers except those whose names have come in during the past week or so, and these are now going out rapidly.

Voluntary contributions have not met the hopes expressed by Mr. George in his letter to THE STANDARD, and for some reason the receipts of postage stamps thus contributed have fallen off, so that the committee for the first time for months will be compelled to buy stamps for ordinary correspondence.

The enrollment now stands as follows:

Reported last week	55,506
Received during week ending June 11.	799
Total	56,305

Contributions received during the past week, other than those received from regular subscribers, have been as follows:

Daniel Boone assembly, Newport, Ky	3 45
John F. Winter, New York	10 00
David Lewis, Sargent, Col.	1 00
Dr. Edward Fridenberg, New York.	2 00
"A Friend," Detroit, Mich.	1 00
A. White, Vallejo, Cal.	1 00
Sundry stamps	78

Contributions from the public previously acknowledged in THE STANDARD	1,443 26
Total	\$1,462 49

Wm. T. CROASDALE, Chairman.

Below are some extracts from letters received:

Charles H. Mueller, Sturgis, Dakota.—I have thus far sent you in 115 names. On the 15th instant the single tax men of The Hills will convene at Rapid City to organize a league to push our cause.

L. T. Brown, Seattle, Wash. Ter.—A few of us met, according to previous arrangement, last Wednesday (May 29), and formed a temporary single tax organization. Mr. Alexander Wallace was made temporary chairman and I temporary secretary. We shall effect a permanent organization at our next meeting.

S. H. Howe, Southboro, Mass.—We shall organize a single tax club here before long.

Axel G. Burman, Marinette, Wis.—Being in the real estate business and holding for sale Minnesota lands, it is easy for me to show up the damnation of the present system by illustrations that bring out the beauties of the single tax. The signatures inclosed were all gathered among men who visit my office. No one that I approach refuses to sign, and most, I find, have formed an idea about the matter before. Sometimes quite lively discussions are entered into. I believe that this way of propagating single tax doctrine is the most effective of all.

N. D. Halbut, Vanceburg, Ky.—Every one of the signers whose names I inclose would vote for the single tax, though there are few, if any, of them who appreciate it fully enough to be workers. Like most new converts, they have not got a full grasp of the principles involved. In another year, however, I believe the seed sown of late will have commenced to grow. I am about leaving Vanceburg, but have left behind me several copies of Mr. George's works, with instructions to the persons to whom they are loaned to read them thoroughly and then pass them on to another person designated by me.

"Uncle Tom," Bryn, Mawr, Pa.—No. 1, when I presented the petition, quoted "The poor you have always with you." After some talk he acknowledged he was an ass, and signed in order to learn more. The next man is a supervisor of one of the districts in this county and a farmer owning his own land, as are all of his family. He has an inkling of the truth, but does not yet see it fully, and has been partly misled on the subject. The next man has his eyes open in regard to protection, and probably sees one claw of the cat. It is hard work to get signers about here, as the people are either protectionists—and therefore flight shy of the petition—or else they are careless.

J. C. Brereton, Brooklyn.—Our new Single tax club at Greenpoint will hold its first meeting at Parish hall, Greenpoint, on Thursday, June 13. We hope great things from it.

J. R. Gibbons, Bay City, Mich.—Among the inclosed signatures is that of T. B. Barry of Knight of Labor fame. Mr. Barry said that these had been his views for years. I also inclose an explanatory circular concerning the Brotherhood of United Labor, signed by Mr. Barry, which closes with the following declaration:

The cardinal principles of the Brotherhood of United Labor will be land, currency and transportation reform, for beneath all the social questions of our time these three are of primary and universal importance,

and are now agitating the great minds of the world.

First—The right of man to the use of the earth.

Second—Taking from usurers and shylocks the right to control our currency.

Third—Government ownership of the means of transporting persons, freight and intelligence, and the taking of those engines of human happiness out of the hands of stock gamblers and speculators and operating them for the benefit of the producer and consumer.

While seeking a settlement of those questions we shall labor for ameliorative terms, such as the reduction of the hours of labor to eight per day, the prohibition of child labor and to obtain for both sexes equal pay for equal work, the abolition of the contract system in the employing of convicts, the abolition of the contract system on national, state and municipal works, the prohibition of foreign labor under contract, the purification of our system of politics by the adoption of the Australian system of voting. In fact, all legitimate means for the improvement of the human family, mentally, morally, socially and physically.

H. W. Simonton, Dade City, Fla.—I have been plodding away at the single tax propaganda and am getting several of our citizens interested. I think that eventually I shall be able to form a club in this county.

Thomas Watson, San Francisco, Cal.—We intend organizing a single tax club in Sacramento on June 2. The arrangements are already made. We are expecting quite a boom to our movement here in San Francisco on the arrival of Mr. Sherman. We hope he will put a little more starch into some of our men who are too limp and inactive. The crop will come if we continue the cultivation.

W. E. Brokaw, Bristol, Dakota.—On the night of May 24 I addressed about fifty men in the hall at Hitchcock. I distributed literature, sold a few copies of "Progress and Poverty," and obtained a few signatures. I found no difficulty in answering questions, and every point I made on free trade was loudly applauded. Friday night I am to address the farmers at a schoolhouse between Hitchcock and Broadland. Mr. Herman Yager, a well known farmer, arranged for the talk. He has obtained a few signatures to the petition. As secretary of our state association, I shall keep a list of all the single tax workers, believers and sympathizers, and will be in a position to use all the single tax and free trade literature I can obtain and pay postage on. I can put sample copies of THE STANDARD and other single tax papers where they will do good. I had a set recently with a protectionist editor, who is one of the county commissioners of Beadle county. These commissioners got out the boom pamphlet I mail you, and paid \$2,400 of the county funds for it. It is made up of lies and over drawn statements. The Loan trust company owes over one hundred quarter-sections around here, and nearly everybody wants to sell. Taxes and mortgages have eaten most of them out. In many parts of South Dakota vacant quarters are assessed as high as the adjoining improved farms. Dakota assessors, as a rule, are "up to snuff," and all we need do is give them freedom in the matter and they will soon make land speculation in the state a failure. They generally go as far as the law allows in exempting everything but land. This is why land speculation in Dakota is not what it was expected to be.

T. S. Cumming, Gardner, Ill.—I am sure of getting many signatures among the "protected" miners who are on a strike against the reduction of wages. I am preaching single tax to them and find them prepared to listen.

George Winter, Middletown, N. Y.—Our cause is gaining ground every day here.

John Lavis, Neponset, R. I.—Surely our friends ought to make the enrollment 100,000. We have stopped our public meetings for the months of June, July and August. Francis Marion Senette, editor of the Dorchester Beacon, was to oppose the single tax at our last meeting, and Mr. Q. A. Lothrop was to reply to him. We had a full house and Mr. Lothrop and I made speeches. One of our friends told Mr. Senette just before the meeting that we had some pretty good debaters and would make it hot for him. He replied that he was reading up and that he would hold his own. Perhaps his reading up has shown him the cat. Let us hope so.

Dodging the New Ballot Law in Rhode Island.

PROVIDENCE, R. I., June 9.—The question, Shall Article V, which is the so-called prohibitory amendment of amendments to the constitution be repealed? is to be passed upon by the people of this state at a special election to be held on June 20. The act authorizing the election was passed by the present legislature at the May session at Newport and contained a surreptitious clause postponing the date when the new ballot law shall take effect, to June 30, 1889. The date when it should become operative was fixed by the original act as June 1, 1889. The obvious inference to be drawn from this action of the legislature is that the state is to be flooded with money to influence the action of electors in favor of repeal. The Rhode Island ballot reform association has issued a circular, urging the friends of a pure ballot to rebuke at the polls this high handed attempt to debauch the suffrage. There are also other questions of public policy which are urgently demanding the attention of the people of this state, at

this time, and which can be settled only by a complete revision of the constitution, through a constitutional convention. Among these are plurality elections, the partial disfranchisement of the registry voters in the cities, the odious registry law, which compels registry voters to personally appear at the office of the town or city clerk and register in the year preceding that in which he proposes to vote, and the unequal representation in the legislature. As an instance of the latter evil may be cited the case of the town of Jamestown, where the vote of one citizen is as potential, in the senate of the general assembly, as that of two hundred citizens of Providence. In view of all of which it is earnestly hoped that all friends of good government, and especially that all single tax men in the state, will use their influence and vote against the proposed repeal at this time, to the end that the calling of a convention wherein all needed reforms may be considered, shall be hastened.

PHILADELPHIA.

A Good Idea and Instance of How It Worked.

PHILADELPHIA, Pa.—Things outwardly are rather quiet around here, but some good thinking is going on all the same. I have proof of my simple plan of spreading the light which is by keeping on stock two copies of Mr. George's works and quietly requesting friends to thoroughly peruse them and the following letter is one of many instances of the result:

West Philadelphia.—Your book, after a long time, I have returned, but not until it has done good work, both for me and a friend of mine. It has changed my views and much modified his, both of us being strong protectionists, but now moving on the free trade road. Many thanks to you for opening our eyes.

I, myself, am a great admirer of Henry George and his doctrines but I find a very strong feeling against him, giving rise to ridicule, which is to be attributed solely to the injustice of the press. This sentiment is one that all men who have taken lead in any social or religious movement have to combat with as history shows, but I think the time is coming when the masses will regard things in a different light.

Mr. Burhans one year ago was a rank protectionist; oh! I couldn't begin to tell you how hot he was, but he is just the kind of stuff we want, all the more enthusiasm when on your own side.

J. H. CUNNINGHAM.

The Manhattan Single Tax Club.

Mr. W. N. Meagher addressed the club on "The Fallacies of Professor Van Buren Denslow's Economic Philosophy." By contrasting one clause with another in the work he showed the utter lack of "economic philosophy" the professor really possessed. If, says Mr. Meagher, the exporter pays the tariff protection, as claimed by the professor, then we pay England's tax on all the tobacco we send her. But the professor says this is not true—the exporter has to pay the duty only when the country receiving the export produces the same article; therefore, said Mr. Meagher, all England should do is to rise ten pounds of tobacco—the professor is silent as to how much is necessary—and she will then make Americans pay the many millions she now pays. The lecture was discussed from all standpoints—socialists, anarchists, single tax, democratic, protectionist and hybrid speakers taking part.

George A. Boyd will, on next Sunday evening, address the club on "The prevention of consumption and its relation to the single tax."

At the last business meeting of the club the resolution offered by Mr. Levenson three weeks ago—"that the members form a club of the democratic society"—was unanimously voted down.

A Conference for the Regulation of Work in Factories.

The Swiss federal government, according to the Schweizer Nachrichten, has received official notice from three of the European cabinets—the Belgian, the Dutch and the Italian—that the governments of these states are willing to take part in the proposed conference for the international regulation of work in factories. The Swiss federal government has announced that the conference will now be held, even though only four industrial states—Italy, Belgium, Holland and Switzerland—should be represented at it. The object of the conference is to lay the foundation for the international regulation of factory labor, and the bettering of the condition of the workers throughout Europe.

The Webster State Reports Progress.

PORTLAND, Ore.—Our club is progressing finely, and its influence is already being felt in not only Portland, but in various portions of the state.

R. H. THOMPSON.

To the Senate of the United States.

Dr. Johnson.
Here let those reign whom pensions could incite,
To vote a patriot black, a courtier white,
Explain their country's dear-bought rights away,
And plead for pirates in the face of day.

The Time for Unmasking is Near.

Chicago Herald.
Mr. Randall says that the next congress will abolish the internal revenue taxes. How much longer can Randall, whose principles are represented by the last republican platform, mask as a democrat.

TARIFF NOTES.

The effect of the tariff has been to put first a large enhancement of current valuation upon all wealth produced since it took effect, and then, by a necessary principle of equalization, upon all previously existing wealth. From this effect, however, must be exempted the important item of agricultural lands, the value of which has been affected in an opposite direction, because the tariff has failed to enhance the price of farm products while it has augmented the burdens of the farmer and the costs of cultivation, making the land less valuable than it would have been in the absence of a tariff.—[New York Commercial Bulletin.

Ah, there, my dear protected farmer! It costs this spring ten bushels of potatoes to pay for a plow point. The plow point is protected, you know. And you like protection—you voted for it last fall.—[Big Rapids, Mich., Herald.

Stephen B. Elkins recently said in a public speech that coal is cheaper at the mouth of the pit in West Virginia than in England. Yet Stephen howls for a tariff on coal, for he and his wife own thousands of acres of coal lands, and the tariff helps swell their profits.—[Topeka, Kan., Jeffersonian.

"The tariff protects the farm r fully as much as it does the workers in factories," explains a high protective republican organ. A golden truth which was not expected from such a quarter. How it protects the farmer may be seen in the list of farm mortgages.—[Toledo Bee.

Where's That Boom?

PITTSBURGH, Pa., June 6.—Can Mr. George, or Mr. McCready, or Mr. Post, or Mr. Crossdale, or Mr. Shearman, or anybody else whomsoever, tell us what has become of the great "boom" in business which the high tariff organs so confidently assured us would follow the election of Mr. Harrison to the presidency of the United States? Any information leading to the discovery of the last "boom" will be gladly welcomed by hundreds of STANDARD readers. The present financial depression is not an imaginary one, nor is it only a temporary lull, which will give place to increased activity in the near future.

Although we have not as yet got down to the condition known as "hard times," still commercial men and railroad men from all over the country—and they together form about the best business barometer available—report that trade has been duller for the last six months than for any like period during the past four years. This present business stagnation is a subject which the tariff organs carefully avoid, but it is interesting to speculate upon what would have been the drift of the remarks from these same journals in the event of Cleveland having been elected in place of Harrison, and the same falling off in business being apparent. Is it not likely that we would have heard something about the "disastrous" effects of free trade agitation, and the "pauper" labor of Europe?

GERALD E. FLANAGAN.

Conundrum: Why Didn't Diogenes Sue Alexander?

DES MOINES, Iowa, June 3.—We in this city have had a sermon on the single tax by one of our most popular preachers, treated from an adverse and somewhat original standpoint. He claimed to have read "Progress and Poverty," a copy of which he held in his hand, but such was the absurdity of his statements that the single tax men who heard him have since been asking themselves how so talented a man could have read such a book and know so little about it.

Here is a sample of his logic: "When asked by Alexander the Great what he could do for him, Diogenes replied, get out of my sunshine! Here is one of the things we did not create, yet we may claim absolute ownership of. If we may claim absolute ownership of sunshine, why not of land?"

One feels prompted to put the query to the reverend lecturer: "If Alexander was using Diogenes's sunshine, why did not Diogenes collect rent or prosecute for trespass?"

The students at the Baptist college debated the land question not long ago, and at the close invited Mr. Bellinger to review the subject, which he did in a very interesting manner.

Saturday evening the students of Drake university also debated the subject, after which Mr. King and Mr. Kasson of the single tax club were called on to make short speeches. The importance of giving these young university men clear ideas of our aims as they start out in life cannot be over-rated.

WM. MOURVY.

Starvation and Hell.

The Australian Standard.
"The gates of Castle Garden open inward," boasted General Harrison, "they never open outward." Castle Garden is where they dump the starved out workmen of protected Germany who come across to starve out the protected American workmen. The gates of hell are similarly constructed.

Nearing the Protective Millennium—Yet Wages are Falling.

St. Louis Age of Steel.
The United States is buying very few steel rails in England this year. In the first four months of 1889 the shipments amounted to only 6,906 tons as compared with 25,003 tons in the corresponding period of 1888 and 41,700 tons in the corresponding period of 1887.

NOTE-BOOK JOTTINGS.

Our single tax friends have gone largely into the use of tracts to push the cause. These several series issued from THE STANDARD office have been drawn on to the extent of literally millions of copies, but in addition to these, many clubs and private individuals have got up tracts of their own. Some business men never send out a letter without inclosing a tract, and many people of single tax faith paste a sticker on every envelope going into the mail when they put on the stamp—"The single tax will raise wages" is the one most commonly used. Wherever tracts or stickers go they provoke inquiry.

Appropos of the "tip" to buy real estate on credit, an authority tells us that "its value depends upon whether money can be borrowed at a lower rate of interest than that which real estate yields. As a general fact, this proposition is correct. There is plenty of money to be borrowed at 4, 5, and 6 per cent, and there are certain properties from which a greater return than this can be obtained. In other words, there are cases in which a man can make an income from the use he has of the money of others. In reality, the surplus accruing on the transaction represents the salary he earns by giving profitable employment to the capital of another. . . . At the present time there is no doubt a great deal of capital invested in this way."

The proprietor of a cigar factory has told me a story about time work and piecework. Having decided some years ago to make his own cigarette boxes, he put upon the job a number of girls who had been employed on cigars in the factory, whose own work had become dull. He started them in on piece work, but at the end of a few weeks a committee of the girls waited on him and said they could not make a living at the rate paid. They wanted either to go on by the week or have the scale increased. He let them go on at time work. Several months afterward, however, it was represented to him that the sentiment had changed and the girls would like to take up piece work again. He consented, paying them the old rate. They showed at once that in the meantime they had learned the business and could turn out a greatly increased quantity over what had been their stint while on time. It soon became a question whether some of them should not be laid off, but this was obviated by distributing to each girl about the amount of work she had done in a day on time. Some of them frequently finished up at three o'clock in the afternoon and went home.

The American Machinist recently printed some notes indicating the same principle, namely, that piece work will win the race with time work easily. The proprietor of a machine shop of about five hundred men instituted the piece work system, selecting about a dozen of the best men, who were to give in written estimates for jobs. The prices for the first lot of contracts averaged about fifteen per cent less than the cost by time work, yet the men made about thirty per cent more than time wages. This was done by dint of sheer hard work, and it was a sight to see the piece work men with their shirt sleeves rolled up, and their shirt collars and neckties taken off, in the depth of winter, in a shop that was not heated. In another case, a machinist in passing through a large shop looked closely at the men working, and then said: "There is only one man at piece work on this floor, and that is the man," pointing to him. It proved to be the fact. A general foreman of a railroad machine shop once gave this as his opinion: "If I had power to let all work go out by the piece, at prices fixed for a year at a time, I could save thousands of dollars."

In the shop first mentioned, the piece hands having set the pace, the time hands had their wages cut about thirty per cent within three months. Next, a rule followed, that if a piece worker made more than fifty per cent more than time-work wages, his prices were to be cut. One expert man who was at piece work cut time prices down fifty per cent, and still earned about seventy per cent more than the time hands. He was badgered by the foreman to voluntarily reduce his prices, and after a warfare of several years over the question he left the shop in disgust.

There is thus developed a point where the advantages of piece work come to an

end. In this country piece work is still generally favored. Each man, as a rule, wants just what he makes. He aims at skill, and expects its rewards. But in doing so his week's earnings often look large, especially to his employer, and an attempt is made to pull them down. The wages occasionally made by only the swiftest hands are apt to be spoken of as the average by the man who pays them. The amount of work done by piece hands is also made a stint for time men. Consequently, the effect, the reduction of the cost of labor in a given quantity of product, is really a reduction of wages. Workmen in general in Europe understand this tendency. They fight piece work, and ask, more than anything else, that work be divided among them. Work they must have, as work is bread, and they dread special skill in shopmates as much as they do new machinery. The injustice which forces men to compete with one another to make a bare living brings them to avoid the very means by which mankind should be benefited. In a state of justice all might strive for skill and the employment of the best of machines, and piece work would be the rule wherever possible.

In a restaurant down town there is a single tax table. Every day at lunch time it is filled with men who have no other thing in common than that they are land reformers and are hungry. They chat. They succeed in keeping abreast of the movement. This is doing pretty well, as it pushes on so fast nowadays. But they are enthusiastic, and get all that is going, doctrine and gossip. They expect soon to lengthen the table to accommodate converts.

A significant vote was taken at a large meeting of the Manhattan single tax club on last Thursday evening. A member—an estimable gentleman, well thought of by his fellows—offered a resolution that the club recommend its members to form a democratic society. He had arranged, he said, with President Black that the proposed organization should be independent of the local and state democratic machines. Five members of the club, besides the mover, spoke to the motion. When the vote was taken only one voice was heard in favor of it—that of the mover. Taking this result and the remarks of the five speakers opposing the motion as showing the sentiment of the club, it may be safely announced once more that neither of the old parties will soon have the pleasure of swallowing the single tax movement in New York. When the club's members reflect upon the good work the republicans of this state did for ballot reform, they remember with gratitude to Providence that there are many good people in the republican party. It was the party that freed the slave. When they dig up from history the aphorisms of Jefferson, or read Mr. Cleveland's tariff reform message, they admire the democratic party for having such good things in its record, and pray for its purification and enlightenment so that it may have more. But they are with neither party, or rather with either, as one or the other may try to do some of the work they want done.

The American Economist is a New York weekly publication "devoted to the protection of American labor and industries." Its support comes from a league of men whom the tariff is enriching, and its circulation among the "protected" men who take off their coats when they go to work may be imagined. The Pittsburg Labor Tribune has, perhaps, a larger circulation in this class than any other journal in America. The Economist is lashing the Tribune for not knowing the needs and sentiments of its readers. The issue of the Economist of May 31 has no less than four columns of editorial matter, in as many articles, devoted to the task of explaining away the devilish distortions of the Tribune anent questions of wages and labor reform. It is almost comical, this job of the agent of wealth wrestling with a representative of the wageworkers, trying to persuade it that things are all right and that it has not sense to know what it is talking about. It might be comical, if it were not insulting. For example, the Economist, after sneering at the Tribune for advocating the single tax and other "specilities," says: "These nostrums are not likely to be very healthy, or very true, because they do not purport to represent the views of men who succeed in life, but exclusively, and in their sectarian aspect, the views of men whose sole basis of union is that they are of those for whom indus-

try must be initiated by others, and not of those who can initiate and control it themselves." Seldom is so much falsity and mental poison packed in a single sentence. Such a dose should be almost enough to make a Pittsburg protectionist Hungarian stop and think.

The editor of the Economist is the "economist" who once addressed a single tax audience and when questioned by some of his hearers as to some of his statements, said he had come to "instruct" them and not "to be cross-examined."

Dr. M. R. Levenson is in the reform field with a pamphlet on "Constitution making," addressed to the members of the constitutional conventions of North and South Dakota, Washington and Montana. He recommends to them the referendum, proportional representation, an executive council as a substitute for a governor, radical reforms in the judiciary system, merely temporary franchises for corporations, and the single tax. I wish him the best possible success in his efforts to get new ideas before the state makers. Generally, however, they are shy of them.

The annual convention of the commissioners of state bureaus of statistics begins on June 24, at Hartford, Conn. They have a great work before them—that of planning the gathering of statistics on a uniform plan and of making them gee when gathered.

Says the Montreal Star: "When twenty dollars and eight to ten days are all that divide the masses of Italy, Hungary, and Poland from those of the United States, there cannot be much difference between the fortunes and the contentment of the proletariat in Europe and America. New York and Chicago to-day reproduce the pauperism and misery of London, Paris and Naples."

One of our most energetic workers, who lives in a far off city, writes me that if his fellow citizens who oppose the single tax would only answer the articles he gets published in the local papers, instead of putting threatening letters under his store door at night, or attempting to break down his business, they would be more like men. There is a text for a sermon in this statement. How many business men are deterred from declaring their opinions on the land question because of a fear of risking their means of making a living? How many men working on salary or for wages? Yet evidences continue to multiply that the teachings for belief in which these men suffer are spreading everywhere in the civilized world. The American public loves fair play, and in many communities the single tax is already having a free and fair discussion. It may not be long until our friend will have the chance of teaching his anonymous correspondents how to write signed single tax letters—such are the changes which men's minds and character at times undergo.

A popular down-town retail dealer has lately removed his business from a store room in a small old-fashioned house to one in a large new office building. His rent in the former place was enormous; in the new one just a little less enormous, but his sales have increased forty per cent. A single tax man was asked the other day to explain this on the theory that rent ate up labor and capital, leaving them only enough to get along on. Here was a case in which the difference left in two neighboring spots by the devouring maw of rent was large. The single taxer replied that he had observed that the owners of great city estates looked for permanent tenants, and therefore were inclined to extend better inducements than the owners of only one or a few houses. Again, rent finds its level after a good deal of higgling. The owner of a new building usually wants ready money and is afraid of pitching his rents so high as to cause tenants to hold off. In an old business place, however, the landlord has had years in which to complete the process of exercising his powers over the tenant's earnings. With each renewal of a lease comes the question with him as to how much of a squeeze the tenant can stand. With the tenant the question then is, Shall I stand the rise or move? Even when plundered of a part of his goodwill, he may make a better living where he is than if he betook himself elsewhere, and so he deems it better to endure the ills he suffers than fly to others he knows not of. Wherever he goes, risks from the landlord quarter rise before him.

In talking the other day with a reformer who has not too much faith in human nature, I mentioned that a goodly proportion of the members of the New York and Brooklyn building and loan associations were single tax men. "They'll be apt to get bravely over it as real estate owners," was the reply. "Men are not usually so disinterested as to reform themselves out of anything they've got hold of." Fact. Unless by doing so they benefit themselves and mankind in other directions.

As has been mentioned in THE STANDARD, several building and loan association journals either advocate the single tax or give its supporters plenty of space in which to defend it. The last number of the Chicago Building Society Advocate calls attention to the annual assessment now being made in that city, and asks its readers to take note of any inequalities in assessments. It says the worst abuses will be found in the assessment of vacant lands—"large tracts within the corporate limits of the city, wholly unimproved, some of them covering many blocks where improvements have gone completely around them." The Advocate says this would be impossible if the property paid its fair share of the taxes. It promises to publish cases of unfair assessment, to bring them before the board of equalization, and to show up the assessors who through them violate their oath of office.

The rapid growth of the associations throughout the country has brought with it some curious developments, good, bad, and indifferent. New and better methods within the associations themselves are being aimed at. One body in Chicago bonds all its officers in a surety company, guarantees title in a title guarantee and trust company, and effects an arrangement with a life insurance company by which, in case of the death of a borrower, the association applies the payment of a policy on his life to lifting the mortgage and giving the house to his heirs. On the other hand, a sort of association has sprung up which puts all the power into the hands of a few officers, and in other features operates against the borrower. There is one in New York which, on a loan of \$3,000 for eight years, would leave a member worse off by \$500 than if he remained a tenant, paid \$25 a month rent, and put in a savings bank at three and one-half per cent the amount he would pay the association per month more than \$25. Yet people can be found who will go into such a concern.

A law relating to building and loan associations has been passed by the legislature of Minnesota, which, the Building and Loan Society Advocate declares, will have the effect of wiping out every honest association in the state. It bears internal evidence of having been framed to assist the so-called national associations in fleecing the people. The Building Societies Gazette of London relates the occurrence of two bad building association failures in Great Britain lately. At Sheffield \$500,000 has been "swallowed up in a lump" owing to the society being compelled to take possession of a coal mine on which money had been advanced, and then losing it through inability to comply with the terms of its lease. The Swansea Co-operative society has been wrecked by criminal practices on the part of its directors.

In reading of these cases, the reformer who has been educated to expect much of the law might be pardoned if he went to work thinking up what in each case the law ought to do for the unfortunate people who lose their money in "skin" associations or in those ruined by the directors. The Chicago Advocate takes bold ground in this respect. It wants very little law, and believes that the best results will come if the members are largely left to themselves. What building associations need most, it asserts, is freedom to do their business in their own way.

The Christian Union, in mentioning the first issue of the Dawn, observes that it "emphasizes the religious rather than the intellectual side of the new social philosophy," and says, "it is a strong and high-minded protest against mammon worship." Though stating that the political programme of the Dawn accepts "Mr. George's single tax as the ideal to which society should approach," the Christian Union does not stop to lecture it for that. Indeed, the whole article is written in a kindly strain, and helps to indicate a growing disposition in this country to tolerate radical thought.

GRIFFE.

AT THE GOLDEN GATE.

"Not one cent more than before these buildings were erected. It is the land under the buildings that I would tax, and I would tax the blocks around the hotel and the Exposition building just the same as those on which these buildings stand, if they were equally valuable."

**MAN WHO WOULD BUILD A HOUSE IF HE
WASN'T AFRAID OF BEING TAXED TO DEATH.**

Akron O.—Jas R. Amber, 109 Allen street.
Albany N. Y.—Robert Baker, 128 Madison avenue; J. C. Roslert, 22 Third avenue, or James J. Mahoney, secretary Single Tax Cleveland and Thurman club, 25 Myrtle avenue.
Alhambra, Mon Ter.—Mrs. Josephine Smahr.
Albion, Pa.—J. A. Fisher, 1000 1/2 St. Louis; D. L. Munro, recording secretary Single tax club.
Amsterdam, N. Y.—Harvey Book.
Anacostia, D. C.—Carroll W. Smith, office Anacostia tea company, Harrison and Monroe streets.
Antioch, N. Y.—M. Lewis T. Graman.
Ashabula, Ohio—A. D. Strong.
Athens, Pa.—Arthur L. Pierce.
Atlanta, Ga.—John C. Reed, lawyer, 25 1-2 Marietta street.
Auburn, Me.—H. G. Cassey, secretary Single tax club.
Aurora, N. Y.—Daniel Peacock, president; H. W. Benedict, secretary Single tax club, College hall.
Augusta, Ga.—L. A. Schmidt, 525 Lincoln street.
Avon, N. Y.—Homer Sabin.
Baldwin Spa, N. Y.—Richard Feeley, 63 Milton avenue.
Baltimore, Md.—John A. Jones, 125 N. Bond street; John Salmon, 415 N. Eutaw street; Dr. Wm. N. Hill, 1438 E. Baltimore street.
Bath-on-the-Hudson, N. Y.—Matthew C. Kirsch.
Bayside, Long Island, N. Y.—Antonio M. Molina.
Beaumont, Ind.—William Matthews, secretary Tariff reform club.
Bradford, Pa.—J. C. De Forest, secretary Land and labor club, 26 Newell place.
Bristol, Ark.—W. E. Brokaw.
Buckampton, N. Y.—E. S. Jordon, 33 Malden lane.
Boston, Mass.—Edwin M. White, 308 Main street; Charles C. Con; J. R. Roche, 29 Converse avenue; Malden; Hamlin Garland, chairman Single tax league, Jamaica Plain Brooklyn, N. Y.—George E. West, M. D., 49 Clermont avenue; president, pending election.
Buffalo, N. Y.—H. B. Hadden, pres. Tax reform club, 521 Clinton st.; C. C. Whittemore, sec., 355 Washington street.
Burlington, Iowa.—James Love, bookseller, or Richard Strong.
Cambridgeport, Mass.—Wm. A. Ford, 168 Norfolk street, secretary Single tax organization.
Camsteo, N. Y.—H. W. Johnson, P. O. box 265.
Canon City, Col.—Frank P. Blake, M. D.
Canton, O.—S. J. Harcourt, M. D., president single tax club.
Cape May City—Wm. Porter, box 57.
Chamberlain, Ark.—James Brown.
Charles City, Iowa.—Irving W. Smith, M. D., office opposite street.
Chicago, Ill.—Frank Pearson, 45 La Salle street; T. W. Wytler, secretary Single tax club, 426 Milwaukee avenue.
Cincinnati, O.—Dr. David De Beck, 139 West Ninth street; J. A. G. Smith, and stationery store, 272 Vinton street; headquarters Single tax club, 295 Vine street.
Clinton, Ala.—O. M. Mastin or Alex. G. Dale.
Cleveland, O.—C. W. Whitmarsh, 4 Euclid avenue; Frank L. Carter, 132 Chestnut street.
Clinton, Ind.—J. G. Harrop, editor *Argus*.
Coburn N. Y.—J. Crane.
Colton, Cal.—Charles F. Smith, proprietor Commercial Hotel.
Columbus, O.—Edward Hyemman, 348 1-2 South High street.
Cornwall, Cal.—Jeff A. Bailey.
Cramer Hill, Camden county, N. J.—Clas P. Johnston.
Danbury, Conn.—Sam A. Mann, 34 Smith street.
Dayton, O.—W. W. Kile, 35 E. Fifth street; J. G. Galloway, 76 Sagamore street.
Denver, Col.—Andrew W. Elder.
Des Moines, Iowa.—J. J. Kasson, president Single tax club, 209 N. King, secretary.
Detroit, Mich.—J. G. Finehart, 45 Waterloo street; J. F. Dwyer, 275 E. Detroit street, secretary Tax reform association; H. Howe, 654 14th ave.
Diamond Springs, Eldorado county, Cal.—J. N. Van Dighton, Mass.—A. Cress.
Dunkirk, N. Y.—Francis Lake.
East Cambridge, Mass.—J. F. Harrington, St. John's Literary Institute.
East Orange, N. J.—Edw. C. Ambrose, 353 Main st., east Northport, Long Island, N. Y.—J. A. Kuydvan.
East Ridge, N. Y.—J. A. Kuydvan.
Elizabeth, N. J.—Benjamin Urner.
Elmira, N. Y.—William Foreman, 712 East Market street.
Englewood, Ill.—W. B. Steers.
Evanston, Ind.—Charles G. Bennett, 427 Upper Third street.
Fitchburg, Mass.—G. D. Terry.
Farmington, Iowa—F. W. Rockwell.

Xenroft, Mo—E Libby.
Gardner, Ill—T S Cunningham.
Glen Cove, Long Island, N Y—Herbert Lorumor,
Greenville, Mont—A H Sawyer.
Glens Falls, N Y—John H Quinn.
Gloversville, N Y—Wm C W Washington street.
Grand View-on-the-Hudson, N Y—Henry L Hinton.
Harrison, Tex—J J McCollum.
Hartington, Neb—John H Felber.
Haverhill, Mass—Arthur F Brock.
Helena, Mont—Wm M Clements, secretary Montana
single tax association.
Hornesville, N Y—George H Van Winkle.
Hot Springs, Ark—Wm Albert Chapman.
Hosack Falls, N Y—F S Hammond.
Houston, Tex—J W Bang, corporation attorney.
Hutchinson, Kas—J G Malcolm, M D.
Ihon, N Y—George Smith, P O box 502.
Indianapolis, Ind—L P Custer, president Single tax
league, W U Tel Co, Chas H Krause, bookkeeper, Von
Gardens, 1000 W Washington street.
Ithaca, N Y—C C Platt, druggist, 75 East State street.
Janvier, N J—S B Walsh.
Jersey City, N J—Joseph Dana Miller, secretary Hud-
son county single tax league, 86 Lge avenue.
Jewett, N Y—Wm C W Washington street.
Kensia, Wis—W D Quigley.
Kewburgh, Ill—M McDonald.
Kingston, N Y—Theodore M Romeyn.
Lansingburgh, N Y—James McManis, 21 Edgemoth st.
Lawford, N Y—Wm C W Washington street.
Lewiston, Me—F D Lyford, 3 Cottage street.
Lexington, Ky—James Barwin.
London, England—William Saunders, 177 Palace Cham-
bers, Westminster.
Long Beach, Cal—H Dodge, 30 North Alameda street.
W A Cole, 149 South Hill; or A Vnette, P O Station P.
Lowell, Mass—Henry Robertson, 5 Metcalf block, Kid-
der street.
Lytle, Minn—C F Wendham.
Lyonsburg, Va—Thos Williamsor, cor Fifth and Church
streets.
Lynn, Mass—Theodore P Perkins, 14 South Common
street.
Madison, Dak—E H Evenson.
Madison City, Tenn—J B Becker, president Free trade
club; Robert Richardson, secretary.
Mamsee, Mich—Albert Walkley or W R Hall.
Mansfield, O—W J Higgins, manager Western union
telegraph office.
Mardboro, Mass—Geo A E Reynolds.
Marlborough, N Y—C A Baidon.
Mart, Tex—J L Caldwell, chairman Ninth congressional
district organizer.
Marysville, Mont—S F Halston, Br., president Montana
single tax association.
Massillon, O—Victor Barnett, 78 East South street.
Mauntings, Indian Ocean—Robert A Rohan, 8 Pump
street, Port Louis.
Memphis, Tenn—R G Brown, secretary Tariff reform
club, 59 Madison street; Bolton Smith, 225 Alabama
street.
Middletown, Conn—John G Hopkins, P O box 584.
Middletown, N Y—Chas H Fuller, P O box 115.
Milwaukee, Wis—Peter McGill, 147 Fourth street.
Minneapolis, Minn—C J Buell, president Single tax
league, 402 W Franklin avenue; E L Hyder, secre-
tary.
Moline, Ala—E C Norton, 23 South Royal street.
Mt Pleasant, Iowa—A O Pitcher, M D.
Mt Vernon, N Y—J B Lattberg.
Mayville, Ill—William Camm, president Democratic
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Nashville, Tenn—P H Carroll, 236 N High street, secre-
tary American land league.
Neponset, Mass—Q A Lathrop, member Henry George
club, 43 Walnut street.
Newark, N J—Rev Hugh O Pentecost, 56 Oriental
street.
New Brighton, Pa—John Selz, 1 North Broadway.
Newburg, N Y—D J McKay, secretary Single tax club,
238 Broadway.
Newburyport, Mass—Wm R Whitmore, secretary Mer-
chants' assembly, Herald office.
New Haven, Conn—Willard D Warren, room 11, 102
Orange street; Alfred Smith, 105 Day street.
New Orleans, La—John S Waiters, Maritime associa-
tion.
New York, Ky—Joseph L Schraer, secretary Single tax
league, 247 Southgate street; Will C James, 89 Taylor
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New Westminster, Brit Col—Alex Hamilton, member
Tax reform association.
New York, N Y—John J Robertson, secretary Alpha
club, P O drawer 5.
North Adams, Mass—Willard M Browne, 13 Marshall
street; B S Myers, P O box 37.
North Springfield, Mo—K P Alexander, 1826 North
Boonville street.
Norwalk, Conn—James H Babcock, lock box 52.
Oberlin, O—Edw H Haskell.
Ocean, N Y—George Ball, pres Single tax association.
Timothy Horan, sec, 55 Railroad street.
Olmsted, Wash Ter—Alexander Fargnular, Adam street.
Orangeburg, N Y—John J Virginia avenue; Perc
Peppert, pres Single tax club, 152 S 5th street; C F
Beckett, sec, n w cor 27th and Blondo streets.
Oradway, Dak—R H Garland, member Tax reform as-
sociation.
Oroville, N Y—Alex Stallen, 160 West First street.
Pasadena, N J—J J Burnard, P O box 181.
Paterson, N J—E W Nellis, Chairman Pasauce county
Single tax Cleveland campaign committee, 89 North
Main street.
Parkersburg, W Va—W I Boreman, member of Single
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Pawtucket, R I—Edward Barker, 23 Gooding street.
Peoria, Ill—J W Avery.
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or A R Stopps, 214 Chestnut street, secretary H
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Pittsburg, Pa—Mark F Roberts, 1727 Carey alley.
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son.
Poughkeepsie, N Y—William C Albord.
Providence—It I Robert Olivey, 32 Sutton street;
Dr Wm Barker, pres, Rhode Island single tax as-
sociation.
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Racine, Wis—W H Van Ornum.
Reading, Pa—Chas S Frizer, 1013 Penn street;
Corkhill, 15 N 6th street.
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Roselle, N J—Reed Gordon.
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San Luis Obispo, Cal—Mrs Francis M Mine.
Seattle, Wash Ter—J M Thompson, P O box 56.
Shenandoah, N Y—W M Dickinson, P O box 56.
Shenandoah, Pa—Morris Marsh, president Single tax
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Southboro, Mass—S H Howe.
South western, N Y—W M Perkins.
Spartanburg, S C—Bush, Orange county, N Y—C L Dedrick,
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retary.
Spirit Lake, Iowa—J W Schrimpf, secretary Tariff re-
form club.
Springfield, Ill—James H McCort, secretary Sangamon
single tax club, 625 Bank avenue.
Springfield, Mo—H A W Juncman, 665 Nichols street.
St. Louis, Mo—Hauhin Russell, president Single tax
league, 266 Bacon street; Benj. E. Bloom, secretary,
1011 E 1st street.
Stockton, Cal—A D Learned.
Stonham, Mass—Dr W Symington Brown.
Streator, Ill—George Q Quentner.
Syracuse, N Y—Charles S Hopkins, 9 Seymour street;
Dr Wm Barker, 149 South Clinton street; or P A Paul,
4 Walton street; or James K McGuire, secretary Single
tax club, 59 Greene street.
Tahlequah, Ok—J P Travers, secretary Single tax club, No 1,
12 Summit street.
Tomball, Wash Ter—F C Clarke, 138 E K st.
Trenton, N J—H R Matthews, 9 Howell street.
Troy, N Y—B B Albert.
Tuckahoe, N Y—Martha O Young.
Unionville, Conn—John McAdams.
Unionville, N Y—H M Sweeney, 136 Elizabeth street, or
Daniel M Buckley, grocer, southwest corner First and
Catharine.
Vermont, N Y—W L Sinton, E and N R R Co.
Vincennes, Ind—Hon Samuel W Williams, rooms 2 and
3 O R Co.
Waco, Tex—Frank Grady, lawyer, 183 south 4th street.
Wakarusa, R I—David Harrower.
Washington, D C—Dr William Geddes, 1719 G street, N
E, secretary Single tax club.
Washingtonford, Tex—William M Bush.
West New Brighton, Staten Island, N Y—A B Stoddard,
Wheeler, G W—John L Frank, 247 E 1st street.
Whitewater, Long Island, N Y—George Harwell.
Whitewater, N Y—J B Johns, cigar store; Thos Douglas,
president Single tax league.
Woodstock, Ill—A W Cumar.
Yonkers, Mass.—E K Page, Lake View.
Yonkers, N Y—Joseph Sutherland.
Yonkers, N Y—O L Russell, Russell's house.
Zanesville, Ohio—W L Russell, 27 Van Buren street.
Zia Potwin, pres, single tax club.

THE STANDARD.

HENRY GEORGE, Editor and Proprietor.

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Governor Bulkeley, of Connecticut, has served the politicians in the matter of the Australian ballot bill in the same way that Governor Hill served them in this state. In Connecticut, as in this state, the politicians were averse to the bill, but were compelled by public opinion to give it their support. It was supposed that Governor Bulkeley would be as tender of the measure as the senate and house were, and that despite the objections to the bill from the point of view of political machines he would sign it, but the governor of Connecticut proves himself made of sterner stuff, and unless the legislature submits to popular pressure and passes the bill over the veto, Connecticut like New York, must wait a season before enjoying the benefits of this reform.

When the bill is considered it is no wonder that the machine politicians dread it. Those provisions that make the ballot secret, he is now willing to accept. They will, as he correctly thinks, hurt one machine as much as another. But when it comes to the features of the bill that do away with the occupation of the machine politician by having the state provide all the machinery of elections he translates the writing on the wall and exerts himself to put off the fatal day. The motive of the machine politician in objecting, is in itself a sufficient reason why patriotic citizens should demand the law. Parties are now ruled with rods of iron by inside machines composed of men who live by exploiting the parties they are supposed to represent. With the Australian system of voting in force parties would be ruled by the people who belong to them. Then we should have political contests worthy the name, and the day of the boss and the trader would be past.

The pathologists of the New York health department, Drs. Pruden, Biggs and Loomis, have made a report on the subject of consumption, which, like all medical papers is of interest to every one, and unlike most of them may be understood by any one. They declare that consumption is not, as it has been so long regarded, an hereditary disease, but is caused by living germs, which are the same both in man and the lower animals, and may be transmitted by the meat or milk of an affected animal, or by breathing air in which the germs are suspended as dust. They assert that the disease is preventable, and for preventing it recommend a rigid official inspection of cattle, careful disinfection of rooms and hospitals where consumptive patients have been confined, and the dissemination of information that every consumptive patient may be a source of actual danger to his associates if discharges from his lungs are not destroyed before passing into the air in the form of dust.

The Mail and Express has been admitted into the confidence of the French socialists, and in connection with their opposition to the single tax has learned that they "cannot understand why the principle that the possession of property is theft should apply only to land." From this we are to infer, first, that the French socialists regard the possession of all prop-

erty as theft; and second, that the single tax involves the idea that the possession of land is theft. Both of these propositions are true, except the first and second. And that is more than can often be said for the veracity of the Mail and Express.

It is proposed in Brooklyn to organize a national guard regiment to be composed of the sons of Union veterans, and the idea is recommended to the favorable consideration of New Yorkers. There is a reason, a sentimental reason, why the veterans of the war should maintain organizations; but there is none whatever to justify the organization of sons of veterans, between whom there is nothing more in common than there is between them and sons of people who were not veterans. The only purpose such an organization could have would be to keep alive the animosities of a civil war and distract the attention of the present generation from new questions of public policy.

The universality of the tip is becoming a grievous burden to men of moderate means. They find it difficult to go anywhere or hire anything done without being under pressure to pay some man extra for doing what they have already paid that man's employer to have done. The conductor is one of the few men who serves the public without expecting a tip; but it is not improbable that before long we shall as a matter of course be paying six cents car fare—five cents for the company and one cent for the conductor.

Complaints similar to this are frequently made by the press, but the real nature of the evil is overlooked. Usually only the burden upon customers is considered; the vulture being always supposed to be the man who gets the tip. But this notion is not true. The tip is regarded by employers much as landlords regard land—as an opportunity to be paid for by the employee. Hence when a customer gives a tip, if he is doing a customary thing, it is not the employee but the employer whom he benefits. It would probably be impossible to induce employees to strike against tips, for tips are to them as a bird in the hand, but if they should, the day would soon come when their wages would rise, and we should realize in some degree the time not so very long ago when an American would resent a tip as an insult.

In the May number of Lieber's Manual, an importer's and banker's guide, attention is called to the great and increasing number of unemployed persons and the general downward tendency of wages, and also to the fact that immigration from the old world is unprecedented; and economists are asked to consider whether the latter fact has any bearing upon the former. Without itself attempting to consider its conundrum, the Manual makes statements which, coming from the source they do, may be regarded almost in the light of confessions. After conceding the growing number of the unemployed in general, and the downward tendency of wages, it notes the fact specially that in the iron, steel and coal industries employment is restricted and wages lower and growing lower still. A hint at an explanation is given in a remark to the effect that cheap labor in the south is destroying the manufacturing industries of the north, the effect of which it is intimated may be counteracted by the employment of Poles and Huns, whose labor is "as cheap as, or even cheaper than, that of the negro," but the difficulty of getting enough of that kind of labor presents itself, though it is not so great a difficulty as formerly, because "the tide of immigration flows into our ports like the Proponent, which knows no ebb." No sooner is this difficulty disposed of, however, than another occurs: These aliens, entering our labor market, will make a competition with those already here that "is sure to be sharp and seriously felt." But at this point, all unconsciously, the Manual tumbles over the root of the trouble; there is but little really desirable land left, and when all the available cheap land of the govern-

ment has been taken up "the other cheap lands, which cannot be pre-empted, being in private hands, will surely advance in price," and "the cheap lands of the west being closed against them" immigrants "will go to the mines, the furnaces, the forges, the factories, the shops, as rivals of their predecessors, so many of whom are already standing idle in the market place asking for work, or if at work, fighting daily to maintain the existing wage standard." Upon this statement the solution of the problem for which the Manual asks economists to grope, is apparent. It is not immigration that forces competition among workers in the labor market, but the narrowing of opportunities for the independent use of land. Every independent worker less tends to lessen the competition of those who work for employers. And there is but one way of increasing the opportunities for independent work. That is to open natural opportunities which the Manual acknowledges to be crowded. To do this, will increase independent workers in a double way; first, by making land free to even the poorest; and, second, through the increase of wages thus caused, by qualifying others to engage in occupations requiring capital. This remedy must be obvious, even to the Manual writer, when he thinks of it. The only objection that can occur is the notion that all the land is owned. When that objection does occur, let it be asked what difference it makes whether or not all natural opportunities are owned, when it appears that they are not used and that men struggle and starve because they are not allowed to use them.

Apropos of the recent purchases by English capitalists of American breweries and other properties, the World has something to say which has a good deal of sense in it, diluted by not a little nonsense. The English investments to which the World particularly objects are investments in land. There is an increase in the value of land, it says, "which arises from the growth of population, improved means of communication, and advance of civilization generally." So far good. But behold, to what a weak conclusion the World is led from this. One would suppose it would say at once, that inasmuch as this value is due to public conditions, and not to private efforts, it should belong to the public and not to any individual. But no. It may belong to individuals, only it must not belong to foreign individuals. It "should remain wholly in the nation which developed it, and the blood and treasure which are liable to be called upon to protect it." When our blood is called upon to protect values, it can not be a very important consideration to the persons whose blood is offered, whether the values they defend belong to an alien or a native, so long as they themselves have no share in them. What is the matter with the World? Why should it, in asserting the public character of land values, draw the line of private ownership at foreigners? Does it believe that an American feels any better when plundered by Americans than he would if plundered by foreigners? Or is it true that it cannot see the injustice of allowing property, the value of which "arises from the growth of population, improved means of communication, and advance of civilization generally," to be diverted from public to private use?

The Indian International council was held in the Indian territory early in the present month by delegates from both the wild and the civilized tribes. The wild tribe delegates were bitter at first in their denunciations of the whites, but under the influence of the Cherokees they consented to indorse whatever the civilized tribes in council might do.

This conclusion is interesting to us on account of the land policy of the Cherokee nation as outlined by its spokesman at the council, the editor of the Talequah Telephone. According to the report of the New York Sun, he declared that the Cherokees do not want to sell or divide up any of their lands; but "want to live forever as they do now, and not like the white people who possess their lands in

severalty and allow the rich to buy all the land." Proceeding, this "savage" compared the land system of the Indian to that of the white man in a way that reflects little credit on our civilization. "There are millions of whites," he said, "who have no land, because a few men own it all; but the Indians are wise—they hold their land in common, so that the Indian can stay if he wants to. It is because the land system of the white man is wrong that the Cherokees prefer to remain a nation. Almost everything else the white man does is better, and the Indian must follow him, but the land system of the Indian is the better. The Cherokees are civilized and happy. If the wild tribes will get civilized they also will be happy, and the government will not take their lands away from them. If the Indian sells his land or allows it to be divided in severalty, he will become a wandering gypsy."

In these words of a man whom we are pleased to regard as one of an inferior race, may be spelled out the "open sesame" to a higher civilization for both white man and Indian. He tells his people what the history of civilization proves; that the land system of the white man involves land monopoly, and if the Indians adopt it they will become wandering gypsies; but he is constrained to admit that in everything else the white man is the Indian's superior. This is a significant comparison. Why is it, that with the white man's policy of private ownership of land go poverty and crime, while with the Indian policy of common ownership, though under it there is no poverty and but little crime, and the people are happy, they are, nevertheless, inferior to the white man in all other respects? Minor explanations which explain in a degree that can be described as only "more or less," no doubt there are; but the controlling explanation is that our policy of private ownership involves an economic principle which is lacking in the Indian's primitive form of common ownership. That principle is perpetuity of tenure.

Better by far than our plundering system is the crude form of common ownership that prevails among the Indians, for improvement is too dearly bought when debasing poverty and more debasing greed is the price. But if their system were modified by what is useful in our own, the fundamental law of advance in civilization would be realized. With us, poverty would be abolished, for when the right to land is a common right, involuntary poverty is impossible; and with the Indian, advances in the arts, in government and in social relations, would be promoted, because such advances have their root in fixity of tenure and the consequent security of improvements.

The adoption of land value taxation as a substitute for all other taxes, would accomplish this result with us. It would involve the principle and produce the effects of common ownership in a manner adapted to our customs, while preserving all the benefits of fixity of tenure which are now secured to us only through the spoliation policy of private ownership. With the Indians, however, this method need not be adopted. They already own their land in common, and need only to adapt their policy of common ownership to the conditions which a growing population produce and improvements in society and art demand. With them it is only necessary to take for common use, by way of annual rent, that value which their common demands inevitably give to some parts of their domain, leaving the remainder an open common as it is now.

The policy of the Cherokees, as outlined by their spokesman at the council, is especially interesting to us because it indicates that the attempt to introduce private ownership of land among the Indians is destined to fail. The Indians have "seen the cat."

It is amusing to notice the variety of inconsistent criticisms with which the single tax is assailed. At one time we are told it will generate a vast corruption

fund, and at another that the land values of the country are wholly insufficient to meet the requirements of government, however economically administered. Another criticism is that the idea is a novelty, and still another that it is as old as the everlasting hills. For the comfort of critics who put forth this last objection, we take pleasure in presenting a bit of ancient history from the Dutch records of New York city, which a prominent member of the New York bar—a thorough going single tax man—came across in the course of some professional research.

It seems that land grabbing was as troublesome to Hardkoppig Piet and his associates in the government of New Amsterdam as we find it in New York to-day; and the old burgomasters, thick-headed though we have been taught to believe they were, were keen-eyed enough to "see the cat" in tolerably fair outline. Accordingly they issued several proclamations, of one of which the following is a rough translation:

Whereas, their high mightinesses, the director general and the councilors of New Netherland, by proclamation, long ago admonished the community in general to improve their lots of land within the island of Mannhattans, which before now have been surveyed as plantations, by building, or causing buildings to be erected thereon; and the more so since a portion of these lots have been built upon by some of the inhabitants; and, whereas, certain persons are desirous of building and have no place in the neighborhood upon which to erect their houses;

Therefore, by the considerate and excellent, the director general and the councilors it is deemed advisable to proclaim for the last time, to every one the direction that they improve their house lots by the erection of suitable buildings thereon; and in default thereof the excellent, the director-general, shall designate suitable sites to such persons in this city of New Amsterdam as shall be willing to erect houses thereon, and that to the present actual settlers thereof some reasonable compensation be awarded in the discretion of the surveyors of buildings.

It is also hereby further announced that in case any one feels inclined so to build, he may give in his name to the secretary, upon which the order will be issued accordingly.

This done, published and signed in session at New Amsterdam, this fifteenth day of December, 1648. Present, the director-general, L. Duecklagen, La Montagnie, Brian Newton, Paulis Leendersen.

The evil of keeping land out of use and preventing improvements was here recognized, but the remedy was too weak. There appears to have been several proclamations of like tenor, but all ineffectual because no penalty was provided for disobedience; and it remained for hard headed old Peter Stuyvesant himself, nearly ten years later, to put forth a proclamation which proves him to have been well qualified for membership in one of our single tax clubs over two hundred years before a single tax club was organized. Here is the Stuyvesant proclamation:

The director-general and the councilors of New Netherlands having observed, by daily experience, that their orders and proclamations, which were previously issued, have not been regarded according to the real intent of the same, but that, notwithstanding the repeated renewals thereof—

Many large and spacious pieces of ground, even in the best situated parts of this city, remain unimproved, and are held in reserve by their possessors and owners either for greater profit in the future or for their pleasure;

And thereby the city is checked in the growth of its population in the extension of business and in its general prosperity as well as in the method and extent of building;

And, moreover, newcomers are not encouraged because such persons cannot procure lots in eligible places at a reasonable price;

And whereas, despite the previously issued proclamations, so many large and spacious lots have so been held in reserve either for profit or pleasure, because under the former proclamations no penalty, tax or forfeiture was incurred thereby;

And since the possessors and owners have held the lots for years without any burdens, reserving them for greater profits in the future, or using them at their pleasure for orchards or gardens;

Whereby building and population as well as the commerce and general prosperity of their city are retarded, contrary to the benevolent intention and meaning of the directors of the Privileged company, lords and patrons of the province, as the first donors and grantors of these lots, which was that these lots should be built upon in order that the population might be extended, the number of inhabitants increased and the general prosperity and commerce of the city advanced, as expressed in the granted ground

briefs, together with the accompanying stipulation that such taxes should be submitted to as should be established by well qualified persons or by those duly authorized.

For the observance and execution of the same the director general and the councilors aforesaid having long ago, through their sworn surveyor, with the assistance of this municipality, at the time when the streets were laid out and arranged, surveyed the vacant and unimproved lots, and found some hundred lots within the walls of this city vacant and unimproved.

And in order that these lots, according to the good intent and meaning of their high mightinesses, the directors, and in conformity with the previously issued proclamations, may the sooner be built upon (it being very certainly unjust that such large and spacious lots should be held either for profit or pleasure, without being subject to any burden).

And in order that those who are disposed to build may be accommodated with lots upon reasonable terms, the director general and councilors, in furtherance of the foregoing proclamations, by these presents do

ORDAIN that all vacant and unimproved lots, as they were long ago surveyed or laid out by the surveyor of the director general and councilors, after the publication and signing of these presents, shall be taxed and appraised, first of all by the possessor and owner himself, that he may not hereafter complain of the undervaluation, and that then as long as the owner shall retain the lot or lots, or shall allow them to lie without causing suitable and tenantable houses to be erected thereon, he shall yearly, in two installments, pay every fifteenth penning, one-half on May day and the other half on the fair day of this city; the revenue arising therefrom to be applied to the fortification of this city and the repairs thereof.

And the burgomasters are hereby authorized and commanded, after the publication of these presents, to summon the owners of these lots, without any respect of persons, to appear before them at the council house of this city to attend to such taxation, and by their secretary to make a record thereof as the law directs, and to place the revenue in the care of their treasurer, and, in case of a dispute or refusal, to amend such appraisal according to their value and the situation of the place; provided, however, that the possessors and owners, whenever the lots shall be appraised by the burgomasters, shall have the option either to pay the aforesaid fifteenth penning, or to give them over at the appraised price to the burgomasters for the benefit of the city. In the same manner, also, on the other hand, the burgomasters aforesaid shall have the option to take the said lots at the appraisal made by the owners thereof, on behalf of the city, and to offer them for sale to other persons who are disposed to take them at that price, and prepared to build thereon, in case the owner is either unwilling or unable in conformity with this proclamation to build thereon; or, in their discretion, the burgomasters may leave the lots in the possession of the owners until such lots shall have been built upon by the owners or by others, when the said tax, imposed for good and sufficient reason, on such property shall cease.

And the better to promote immigration into and the prosperity and strength of this city, the director general and councilors do ordain and command that from this time forward no dwelling house shall be allowed to be erected within the walls or gates of this city or within the jurisdiction of the same, until all the lots hereinbefore mentioned shall have been suitably built upon.

This done in the session of the director general and councilors at the fort, New Amsterdam, this fifteenth day of January, A. D. 1658.

P. STUYVESANT,
(Attest) C. V. RUINEN, Sec'y.

It is a curious fact that in this Dutch document, which has slept among the records of the American metropolis for two centuries, the most important objects of the single tax as now understood, are distinctly recognized. Land was withheld from use and the growth and prosperity of the city checked thereby; and it was seen that a high tax on the value of vacant land would cure the evil. But beyond that the truth was perceived that it was "unjust that such large and spacious lots should be held either for profit or pleasure without being subject to any burden," and a high tax on their value was adopted to remove the injustice. And that the tax was to be at a high rate may be seen upon a moment's consideration. The appraisement of value was to be made by the owner at a figure for which he would be willing and ought to be compelled to sell, and upon that the tax was fixed at the rate of 1 in 15, or 6⅔ percent per annum, calculated on the appraised value.

But this rescued document is more than a curiosity. It directs attention to a fact in the history of New York land titles, that is a conclusive reply to the moral objection that the single tax involves confiscation. However it may be elsewhere,

and irrespective of all other considerations, the land titles of this city are held under a distinct provision in the original grants that "such taxes should be submitted to as should be established by well qualified persons or by those duly authorized."

The history of these proclamations and their influence in building up the city would make an interesting contribution, as well to the literature of the single tax as to the history of New York, and it is to be hoped that some one qualified and interested will undertake the work.

SOCIETY NOTES.

The best suites of rooms in the most expensive hotels are secured by American millionaires. Mr. Carnegie has a whole floor at the Metropole, and the visitors' list of every big hotel bears the name of wealthy and influential Americans.—[London correspondence New York Sun.]

In a six-by-nine closet in the rear tenement at 165 Elizabeth street, Mrs. Michele Simeone was found a couple of weeks ago by a World reporter, sick and unable to leave her bed. Utterly destitute, she depended for subsistence upon those around her. Her only child, a six months' old boy, had died a few days before. She, of course, had no means to provide for its burial, and its body was still lying in a cradle by its mother's bedside. Daylight never enters the place where the poor woman lived, for it is a veritable closet, without a single window. There is no ventilation whatever. The only air which reaches it is the polluted atmosphere of the next room, which is in itself a foul and stifling place. Besides the bed and cradle the sole article of furniture in the room was an old table. There was not a single chair and hardly room for one. The neighbors gathered around, and one who could speak broken English told the poor woman's story. She listened, her eyes heavy and listless, to the recital she could not understand, and seized the opportunity the momentary light offered to look on her dead child's face again. Then the light was carried away and she and it were left together in darkness.

Frederick W. Vanderbilt's house at the end of Bellevue avenue, Newport, is almost completed. The views obtainable from this house surpass all description. The ocean waves dash their foam and spray up almost to the southern walls, while to the westward can be seen Brenton's Reef Lightship, Beaver Tail, Narragansett Pier and Point Judith. Away to the east the dim outlines of the Massachusetts shore look like banks of cloud. From the east windows of the house the view takes in Little Compton, the East river and Eastern point, the bathing beach and the cliffs. The vessels that sail by can be easily distinguished, and there is a constantly changing panorama in which all the scenes are picturesque and entertaining. To loiter upon one of these spacious verandas on a hot summer's day with a fragrant Havana and iced refreshments at hand ought to satisfy even the capricious tastes of a millionaire. Nine acres of grounds surround the house, which is itself a very large granite building, built with a lavish disregard of expense and only surpassed by the two Vanderbilt houses in this city.

A young man, about twenty-five years of age, good looking, intelligent and of strong physique, tired of the struggle for existence Sunday night, attempted to leave the world by taking a dose of morphine at the United States hotel. He was discovered and removed to Chamber street hospital, where the proper remedies were applied and his life was saved. He said that his name was William J. Orr; that he was a watchmaker by trade, and he worked for John Gleason, a jeweler, in C. Sago. The latter gave up business recently and Orr came to this city about two weeks ago, with \$20 in his pocket, and put up at the United States hotel. Every day since he has looked for employment among the jewelers of the city, but without success. In his boyhood days he followed the sea for many years, and he also sought among the ships for a berth, but could not get one. He became discouraged and determined to die.—[New York Star.]

Harry Henderson, a negro, about twenty-five years of age, who lives on Esquire street, between Thirteenth and Fourteenth, made an attempt upon his life yesterday morning by taking an overdose of laudanum. He was found in his room in a comatose state and a message was sent for Dr. Trunnell, who, after working with him half an hour, restored him to consciousness. The man was despondent over his failure to procure work.—[Louisville Courier Journal, May 25.]

Rebuking a Falsifier.

Rochester Times

The Henry George theory was based on the assumption that everybody would be made rich by taking everybody's property away from him and giving it to somebody else.—[Hamilton Daily Spectator.]

That is false, and the man who wrote it is either a fool or a knave. A man who cannot give time to a thorough study of economic principles, sufficient at least to tell the truth, does not deserve to be an editor of even a dull Canadian paper.

One Hundred Pounds of "Protected" Potatoes (When the Farmer Sells) for One Pound of "Protected" Sugar (When He Buys).

Philadelphia Record.

The "protected farmers in Michigan are selling their "protected" potatoes for five cents a bushel, and are paying nine cents a pound for their "protected" sugar.

MEN AND THINGS.

Close on the heels of the great Johnstown disaster comes the Seattle fire. Happily it has involved little or no loss of life. But it may well be questioned whether, in the times we live in, such a wholesale destruction of wealth does not really involve more human suffering than would a moderate sacrifice of life. Of course it is absurd that it should be so. It is ridiculous that all the wealth in the country should not be as dust in the balance, compared to a single human life. But it would be still more absurd for a people who allow hundreds of men to be killed yearly, for the sake of saving the cost of safety car couplers—who allow thousands of children to die in New York every summer, merely for the want of decent houses to live in—it would be absurd, I say, for such a people to pretend that a great loss of wealth does not, under present conditions, cause more suffering than a moderate loss of life. It is one of the strongest points in the indictment against the present system, that it *does* make life cheaper than wealth. We have brought things to such a pass, that wealth, which, with the boundless resources at our command, we should be able to produce well nigh as easily as did Aladdin by the rubbing of his lamp, is really terribly hard to get, while human life is so plentiful and so cheap that we scarcely think it worth preserving.

Do you call this a slander on humanity? Well now, look here. Suppose the miles of tenement houses here in New York were packed full of goods, instead of human beings? Suppose those little white hearses were carrying away silks and satins to be buried in the ground instead of babies? Honestly now, don't you think there'd be a good deal more fuss made about it? I do. And I guess you do, too. You see, we are used to the little white hearses, and the babies dying by hundreds every week. We have come to think that sort of thing inevitable, and don't pay much attention to it. It is only when some wholesale slaughter, like that at Johnstown, occurs, that we are shocked into a temporary realization of the truth, that human life, after all, has a value that wealth will ever be too limited to measure.

A correspondent of the New York Times, writing from Johnstown, a few days after the disaster, tells strange stories of the manner in which many of the survivors have cast away their faith in the teachings of Christianity, and repudiated the worship of the God who is supposed to have sent such an unspeakable calamity upon them. "I have no further use for that book," one woman is reported to have said. "I have always tried to be a consistent Christian woman. I brought up my four girls as strictly as I had been brought up myself, but I cannot read that book any more." All she loved on earth had been taken from her. And like Rachel mourning for her children, she would not be comforted.

A friend was telling me the other day, of an interview he had with an officer of one of the leading life insurance companies. "I suppose," said my friend to the official, "that your company has suffered considerably by the Johnstown disaster?" "Not at all," replied the official. "Our losses, on the contrary, have been comparatively very light. Men who can afford to carry policies of life insurance are not apt to lose their lives by such disasters." The impression produced on my friend's mind of the official's meaning was that well-to-do people would not have been likely to expose themselves to the danger that has for years been known to be impending over the valley of the Conemaugh.

I tell the story as it was told to me. It may be true, or it may be only partly true. I don't believe it is altogether untrue. For it brings to mind what was said by the president of a great insurance company, when the advisability of accepting risks of \$100,000 each on single lives was being discussed: That rich men are exceptionally safe risks. They can fly from epidemics without difficulty. They can seek renewed health at any time by a change of climate. They travel by the safest routes and conveyances. They can employ the most expensive specialists and can go any distance to consult them. They take better care of their lives, as a rule. They cannot, of course, secure anything like absolute immunity

from the dangers of civilization, nor from natural accidents. Their own recklessness may, at times, expose them to special dangers. But the fact remains that the rich man's life is, to an immense extent, safer than the poor man's life. Had the Conemaugh valley been inhabited by a community of men of means, the great disaster would either never have occurred, or would have found comparatively few victims. Rich men would not have consented to live with such a sword of Damocles as that dam—unsafe, and *known* to be unsafe—hanging over their heads. Fancy if the conditions had been reversed—if a lot of poor men had wanted the dam maintained for the convenience of their fishing, and a lot of millionaires had been living in the threatened valley? Wouldn't that have made some difference? Truly, I think it would.

Of the lives of the thousands who perished at Johnstown, society is not guiltless. Seek out the bottom cause of their awful fate and you will find it in that social crime which has robbed men of their heritage of the right to use the earth—which compels men to live where they don't want to live, to engage in occupations they don't want to engage in, to work for wages they don't want to work for. The thousands who died at Johnstown did not die merely because a few rich men had been careless about the preservation of the dam that held back their fishing pond. They died because they had been robbed. They died because their freedom had been stolen from them. And I, and you, and all of us are guilty of their deaths.

The World of this city has been propounding to several more or less distinguished and successful men of the day the question: What must a young man do to succeed in life? What rules must he follow? What principles must he cling to? What, in short, must he do if he wants to make his mark upon the time? It goes without saying that the success to be achieved is, before all, a pecuniary success. The World is not trying to tell men how to become Damians, Tyndalls, and Ericssons. It has an intense admiration for such men, of course—after they have become famous—but it doesn't take much interest in their youthful enthusiasms. Why should it? Young men of that kind wouldn't pay any attention to the World's advice, even were it offered them; and other young men would refuse to buy the World if it filled its columns with such advice, to the exclusion of base ball and racing records and other importances of that sort.

So the World has been publishing what it calls "valuable advice from men who have achieved distinguished success;" and among the valuable advice is the advice of Colonel Elliott F. Shepard, the well-known son-in-law and editor. Mr. Shepard has achieved success—there can't be any doubt about that. He has lots of money, he publishes a most extraordinary and amusing paper, such as probably no other man living would be capable of getting up, the Presbyterian general assembly listens and applauds when he addresses it, and he is going to Paris as a delegate to the International Sunday school convention. If you don't call that being a successful man you must be hard to satisfy, and I guess the World isn't specially anxious to have you for a reader. Colonel Shepard calls his advice "a hint from our experience." This gives it a double value. It is evident that the things the colonel advises the World readers to do are the things he has done himself. He is writing an autobiography, as well as formulating a code of morals.

"All through life," says Colonel Shepard, "I have found that a young man may always sell himself at his own price." Now what a solid chunk of wisdom that is. The colonel, you see, is giving us hints from his own experience. Clearly, when he was young, he must have sold himself at his own price. And when you think things over calmly, you must confess that he brought a very tolerable figure.

But this isn't all Colonel Shepard's young man must do. Putting a high valuation on himself is a good thing, and a necessary thing, but it isn't the only thing needful by a long chalk. He must subdue himself, the colonel assures us, "in the matter of appetite, of application for the acquisition of knowledge, of an unsatisfied purpose, of will, of perseverance and hope." Then, "when he has got himself

well in hand, he can drive himself in any direction, and as far along any road as he pleases, just as he would drive a tractable but spirited team of horses."

There is certain indefiniteness about all this, such as students of Colonel Shepard's philosophical writings may have noticed in others of his utterances. I can understand well enough why a young man who takes the colonel for his exemplar should have to subdue himself in the matter of application for the acquisition of knowledge, as well as in that of unsatisfied purpose. The acquisition of knowledge, and the satisfaction of any purpose worthy to be called a purpose, are, of course, incompatible with that sort of success in life that the colonel has achieved. But why the mischief should the young man be required to subdue himself in the matters of hope and perseverance? Has not the colonel himself exercised those virtues? Does he not owe to them much of his distinction? I cannot make it out. It may be, indeed, that this is only the colonel's artful way of illustrating his own precepts, by showing that among the branches of knowledge the application for the acquisition of which he has subdued in his own case, is the knowledge of the English language. But this is pure supposition, unsupported by any external evidence.

"Fourteen hours a day," the colonel goes on to say—"fourteen hours a day of hard work will make any man a genius." He does not in terms advise young men to work fourteen hours a day—perhaps because he has had no personal experience in that direction—but he states the fact for the benefit of young men ambitious to be geniuses. "And then, as with eagle's wings, he can mount over any difficulty in the world, no matter how impassable it may seem to the mole." There's imagery for you! Then the colonel comes back to his advice. "Always associate," he says, "with men who are at the top." The young man must have nothing to do with underlings. If he goes to a bank he should insist on seeing the president. If he buys anything at a grocery store, it should be from the senior partner. The colonel's experience has taught him this. It was in that manner, presumably, that he worked his way up in the world. The chief objection to it is that if everybody should try to follow it the ambitious young man would have rather a lonely time, because nobody would be willing to talk to him, except those whom his own principles would forbid him to associate with. Another thing the young man must be very particular about, is to never deceive any one. If he follows this rule, "it will very soon become impossible for anyone to deceive him." Colonel Shepard says this, and I am bound to suppose he believes it. But I think that if the people whom he meets in his own daily walks and talks should cease to deceive him for just one single day, he would have some very curious experiences.

Finally the colonel notifies us that these and all other rules of life are "as useless as the ceremonies of mummies dead for 4,000 years," without the life-giving principle of vital piety; for without this all other apparent good will simply be shams and masks. Let a young man begin each day with the reading of a portion of God's holy word, with prayer and thanksgiving, followed up by a life of obedience to God, and he will just as surely be taken care of as the undying succession of the flocks of the air, from the creation to the present time, have been taken care of by our Heavenly Father. For each young man is of more value than many sparrows.

What an illustration it is of the make believe morality of our civilization, that the most widely circulated newspaper in the country should gravely lay such a mess of cant, blasphemy, and nonsense before its readers. And it will not do to say that nobody takes Mr. Shepard seriously—that the World really only wants to make its readers laugh. For the "principles" so grotesquely laid down by the colonel are precisely those that our paid teachers of morality are never tired of announcing. They do it somewhat less absurdly, and generally in more decent English, but they do it just the same. They are not ashamed to tell men that if they will obey the commands of one whom they describe as a justice-loving God, they will reap a rich reward in being permitted to profit by injustice—in gaining wealth for which they never worked, and leisure bought with the sweat of oth-

er men. And they know, even as they do this, that it isn't so—that the following of Christ's precepts will bring a young man poverty and scorn, not wealth and honors. They know this and they are not ashamed.

One of the duties of the contract division of the post office department is to provide for the transfer of mails from railway stations to post offices in cases where that service does not form part of the railway company's contract duty. The usual policy of the department is to make as few changes as possible in the contractors for this work, for the simple reason that as the weight of mail matter is constantly increasing, a change of contractors would involve an increase in the rate of compensation. A few days ago, however, it was found that this mail transfer, in a city of Indiana, was not being properly performed by the contractor, and a reletting of the contract became necessary. The usual advertisement was made for tenders, and the result sheds a light on the industrial situation. Although the amount of the contract was only a few hundred dollars, sixty-three tenders were received, being twenty more than any similar advertisement had elicited before. And though the work to be done was much greater than when the previous contract was made, the successful bidder's figure was just half the amount paid under the old contract.

I was standing the other day at the lower end of Park row, opposite the Herald building, with my mind half occupied with the reading of the Herald bulletin, and half-intended on the question whether I should spend ten cents at one drug store or five cents at another for the soda water for which my soul thirsted. It was Thursday, and Thursday is for me, generally, a day of contemplative idleness. THE STANDARD goes to press on Tuesday. On Wednesday and Thursday I wander abroad, examining men and things, and satisfying myself that the rotatory and orbital motions of the earth are proceeding with proper regularity—much as an intelligent mite, with spare time to dispose of, might roam about his little world of cheese, and wonder if, by any possibility, there could be, in all the universe within its mind, a more important insect than himself. This two days' inspection of earth and its inhabitants ended, I take up the burden of life again, and get to work spilling ink and spoiling paper.

And as I stood thus idly before the Herald bulletin, I suddenly became aware of alarms and excursions. There was a flourish of a trumpet, a chorus of voices, and a movement of the crowd; and amid a volley of execrations from the truck and car drivers on Broadway, a procession of two tally ho coaches swept round the Ann street corner, and headed for the Battery. Both coaches were crowded with passengers. Each coach had a guard blowing horrible discord from a four-foot brass tube, representing the coaching horn of fashionable life. The excursionists wore double-peaked jockey caps of uniform pattern. And a broad sheet of canvas on each coach bore the legend, "Michael J. Maginnis Association." Half a block or so behind came a modest open carriage, with four passengers, also wearing double-peaked striped jockey caps. One of the four was a portly gentleman, effusively smiling, with a big cigar in his mouth and a dress coat on his back. It was not difficult to recognize Mr. Maginnis. I had never seen him before, but I knew him instinctively as soon as I set eyes on him.

Well, I got my soda water—no matter where—and strolled up town again. As I passed one of the small fashionable parks of the east side, I became aware of another procession. It wasn't as extensive as the Michael J. Maginnis procession, but it was a heap sight more stylish. A procession of two horses, two men, two dogs, and one young woman. The two horses pulled an open carriage, in which the rest of the procession sat and were drawn along. The coachman and footman—I call him a footman, but he may have been a groom, I am not an expert in such matters—anyhow, the two men wore bottle green coats with silver plated buttons, short boots with white tops, and the very tightest white corduroy or buckskin breeches I ever saw on any human beings. How they ever got those breeches on is a mystery to me, and how they can ever have taken them off again is a greater mystery still. The spaniels wore ribbons

round their necks, and the young woman had on a lot of apparel whose complications and combinations I am incompetent to describe.

The procession was moving along quietly when I first saw it, but it began to maneuver almost immediately. First it executed a right about face movement, and wheeled completely round. This, I afterwards discovered, was for the purpose of bringing the near side of the procession next the sidewalk, so that the footman might descend with grace and comfort, and not be humiliated by having to get down in the middle of the street and walk around. Then the procession halted. There was a one-horse cab—quite a plebeian looking vehicle—standing in front of a house near by. The procession waited patiently for about three minutes, till the groom caught the eye of the driver of the cab. Then the groom made a gentle motion with his hand to the cab driver, as who should whisper softly, "Get out of the way." The cab driver looked puzzled for a minute. The groom continued to beckon gently, and his countenance assumed an expression of urgency. At last the cab driver caught the idea, gathered up his reins, and moved along a door or two. Then the procession started again, traveled majestically to the place the cab had vacated, and there drew up beside the pavement. The footman descended, nimbly, but not hurriedly, and presented himself at the door of the carriage. The young woman opened a card case and took out a card. The footman extended his hand to take the card. One of the spaniel dogs rose up in sudden fury and bit that hand. I felt as though I should have liked to give that dog a bone. The footman's face was contorted with dignified anguish, but he took the card, threw his right forefinger toward his hat in a strictly fashionable manner and trotted up the door steps. Having delivered the card, he came back to the carriage door and whispered something confidentially to the young woman. The young woman whispered something in reply, and the spaniel tried, I regret to say unsuccessfully, to eat another piece of footman. Then the footman threw his right forefinger toward the brim of his hat again and mounted to his seat beside the driver. The social function had been completed. Miss Maginnis had made a call—a friendly visit, as the charity organization people call it. Time, six minutes. The procession moved on again, and that was the last I saw of Miss Maginnis, her footman, her coachman, her horses, and her spaniel dogs.

Was it Miss Maginnis? I'm sure I don't know. Probably not. But it might have been. And whether it was or not, I am sure the gentlemen of the Michael J. Maginnis association were working for her benefit, though they didn't know it, and she didn't know it either. And in her feeble little way she was doing the best she could to make life easy for them, though she and they were equally ignorant of that side of the transaction. For our idlers co-operate as inevitably as our workers, and he who lives by appropriating the wealth that others have produced, is forced by the logic of circumstances, whether he like the thing or lump it, to make that sort of stealing just a little more fashionable, and a little more easy. The Michael J. Maginnis association, "striking" a corrupt and scheming politician for the cost of its tally ho excursion, and Miss Maginnis, or Miss Anybody Else, making friendly visits with her retinue of horses, servants and spaniel dogs, are both the outcome of the social system which permits some to monopolize the birthright of all. And until that gigantic crime be swept away, Miss Maginnis and her friends, including her spiritual teachers, pastors and masters, can do nothing to mend matters, though they strive never so energetically, and with never so much purity and singleness of purpose. Evil cannot be twisted into good. The only way to bring good to pass is by uprooting evil.

T. L. MCCREADY.

The Foundations of Protected Greed Are Being Sapped.

New York Telegram.

While Mr. Cleveland lives he will be the natural embodiment of the tariff issue. But it is not the "Man of Destiny" which the protected monopolists have to fear, but the issue of destiny which he started. He simply unchained the torrent, but the torrent is now beyond his or any other man's control. It gathers strength as it flows. Its silent waters are sapping the foundations of protected greed, undermining the strong bulwarks of injustice and washing down the wrecks of sophistry by which their walls are propped.

CURRENT THOUGHT.

Mr. Andrew Carnegie discusses the social question in the North American Review for June, and settles it, once for all. "I believe," he says, "I offer the true solution." Mr. Carnegie's self-confidence is sublime. And I don't say this by way of disparagement. Though it is not at all likely—indeed it is manifestly impossible—that every man who believes in himself should be right, it is nevertheless tolerably certain that every man who is right *does* believe in himself. So he ought to. For if he doesn't he may be pretty certain that nobody else will. Mr. Carnegie has studied the problem, and reached a conclusion that satisfies his own mind. He would not be the man of action and affairs that he is, if he felt any lack of confidence that his solution is the right one.

Mr. Carnegie begins his study of the social problem with a somewhat rapid review of the situation and the causes that have led to it. The rapidity is excusable, from his point of view, because things as they are are as they are and there is no use saying anything more about it. We may not like them, it is true. But that has nothing to do with the matter. There they are, and we can't change them. "Objections to the foundations upon which society is based"—so Mr. Carnegie assures us—"are not in order, because the condition of the race is better with these than it has been with any others which have been tried. . . . We might as well urge the destruction of the highest existing type of man because he failed to reach our ideal as to favor the destruction of Individualism, Private Property, the Law of Accumulation of Wealth, and the Law of Competition; for these are the highest results of human experience, the soil in which society so far has produced the best fruit. Unequally or unjustly, perhaps, as these laws sometimes operate, and imperfect as they appear to the idealist, they are, nevertheless, like the highest type of man, the best and most valuable of all that humanity has accomplished." It is clear that Mr. Carnegie is pretty well satisfied with things as he finds them. It is clear also that he hasn't much confidence in idealism. And yet, I venture to say, when he wants a piece of machinery built for any one of his wealth-producing establishments, he prefers to have it made from a working drawing, and not by rule of thumb.

Mr. Carnegie's theory of things as they are is that society enjoys certain benefits and has to pay the price for them. "The poor enjoy what the rich could not before afford. What were the luxuries have become the necessities of life. The laborer has now more comforts than the farmer had a few generations ago. The farmer has more luxuries than the landlord had, and is more richly clad and better housed. The landlord has books and pictures rarer, and appointments more artistic, than the king could then obtain."

The price we pay for this salutary change is, no doubt, great. We assemble thousands of operatives in the factory, in the mine, and in the counting house, of whom the employer can know little or nothing, and to whom the employer is little better than a myth. All intercourse between them is at an end. Rigid castes are formed, and, as usual, mutual ignorance breeds mutual distrust. Each caste is without sympathy for the other, and ready to credit anything disparaging in regard to it. Under the law of competition, the employer of thousands is forced into the strictest economies, among which the rates paid to labor figure prominently, and often there is friction between the employer and the employed, between capital and labor, between rich and poor. Human society loses homogeneity.

The price which society pays for the law of competition, like the price it pays for cheap comforts and luxuries, is also great; but the advantages of this law are also greater still, for it is to this law that we owe our wonderful material development, which brings improved conditions in its train. But, whether the law be benign or not, we must say of it, as we say of the change in the conditions of men to which we have referred: It is here; we cannot evade it; no substitutes for it have been found; and while the law may be sometimes hard for the individual, it is best for the race, because it insures the survival of the fittest in every department. We accept and welcome, therefore, as conditions to which we must accommodate ourselves, great inequality of environment, the concentration of business, industrial and commercial, in the hands of a few, and the law of competition between these, as being not only beneficial, but essential for the future progress of the race. Having accepted these, it follows that there must be great scope for the exercise of special ability in the merchant and in the manufacturer who has to conduct affairs upon a great scale. That this talent for organization and management is rare among men is proved by the fact that it invariably secures for its possessor enormous rewards, no matter where

or under what laws or conditions. The experienced in affairs always rate the man whose services can be obtained as a partner as not only the first consideration, but such as to render the question of his capital scarcely worth considering, for such men soon create capital; while without the special talent required, capital soon takes wings. Such men become interested in firms or corporations using millions; and estimating only simple interest to be made upon the capital invested, it is inevitable that their income must exceed their expenditures, and that they must accumulate wealth. Nor is there any middle ground which such men can occupy, because the great manufacturing or commercial concern which does not earn at least interest upon its capital soon becomes bankrupt. It must either go forward or fall behind—to stand still is impossible. It is a condition essential for its successful operation that it should be thus far profitable, and even that, in addition to interest on capital, it should make profit. It is a law, as certain as any of the others named, that men possessed of this peculiar talent for affairs, under the free play of economic forces, must, of necessity, soon be in receipt of more revenue than can be judiciously expended upon themselves; and this law is as beneficial for the race as the others.

And having thus taken stock, so to speak, of things as they are—having surveyed the industrial universe and seen that it is good—Mr. Carnegie goes on to tell us what he thinks is the real social problem that is pressing for solution. Simply this: What shall our rich men do with their money. When that is settled pretty much all that can be done for humanity will have been done. Mr. Carnegie is satisfied that he knows how to settle it. Clearly we haven't long to wait for the millennium. "The only question with which we have to deal," Mr. Carnegie informs us, is: "What is the proper mode of administering wealth after the laws upon which civilization is founded have thrown it into the hands of the few?"

Mr. Carnegie points out that there are only three ways in which our rich men can dispose of their wealth. They can bequeath it to their families; they can leave it for public purposes; or they can administer it for the benefit of the community during their own lives. Of these three ways he is satisfied that the third is the one that should be adopted. He points out that wealth has its cares as well as its delights, and that the rich man who leaves to those dependent on him more than a modest competence, is apt to work an injury where he would confer a benefit. He alludes briefly to the many instances in which wealth bequeathed for public purposes has been diverted from the uses for which it was intended by the testators. And then, turning to the consideration of the third way, he draws a glowing picture of the possibilities that would follow its adoption:

There remains, then, only one mode of using great fortunes; but in this we have the true antidote for the temporary unequal distribution of wealth, the reconciliation of the rich and the poor—a reign of harmony—another ideal, differing, indeed, from that of the communist in requiring only the further evolution of existing conditions, not the total overthrow of our civilization. It is founded upon the present most intense individualism, and the race is prepared to put it in practice by degrees whenever it pleases. Under its sway we shall have an ideal state, in which the surplus wealth of the few will become, in the best sense, the property of the many, because administered for the common good, and this wealth, passing through the hands of the few, can be made a much more potent force for the elevation of our race than if it had been distributed in small sums to the people themselves. Even the poorest can be made to see this, and to agree that great sums gathered by some of their fellow citizens and spent for public purposes, from which the masses reap the principal benefit, are more valuable to them than if scattered among them through the course of many years in trifling amounts.

It seems that Mr. Carnegie does believe in idealism, after all—when the idealist is Andrew Carnegie. His ideal is a state of society in which the poor shall labor contentedly under the superintendence of the wiser rich, who in turn will make things up to them by judiciously administering their fortunes for the public benefit. Mr. Carnegie's coke burners, and steel rail makers, and other dependents, for example, will labor happily and tranquilly at their several vocations, without any strikes or other nonsense of that kind, while Mr. Carnegie himself goes off on a coaching tour through Great Britain, or in some other manner illustrates the triumph of democracy before the aristocracy of Europe. And in return Mr. Carnegie will found and maintain schools and colleges, and hospitals, and other institutions for the benefit of the working class of Braddock and other places. Mr. Carnegie and his fellow millionaires, in short, will be the general digesters or transmutators of wealth—the stomachs, as it were, of the community. It really

is a very beautiful ideal. The only trouble is, that it would be just as beautiful if, instead of Mr. Carnegie and other beneficent wealth owners, a gang of scientific and enlightened robbers were put at the head of affairs. As beautiful, that is, from the working people's point of view—of course Mr. Carnegie wouldn't like it so well.

It seems to me Mr. Carnegie has developed from an ardent democrat into a pretty enthusiastic aristocrat. His ideal society is really an oligarchy—in which the governing class, instead of being composed, as of old, of experts in the use of the sword, will be made up of experts in the use of workingmen. It's a sad surrender for the author of "Triumphant Democracy," and yet, in a certain way, it illustrates Mr. Carnegie's hard common sense. For grant what he believes—that things as they are are as they ought to be—and the oligarchy he dreams of will be society's only refuge from the paralysis of socialism, or the awful agony of bloody revolution. And it is precisely on that ground that Europe justifies her monarchies and aristocracies. If it were not for their beneficent and restraining influences, we are told, the proletariat would raise the deuce and all with things. Mr. Carnegie and Bismarck would get along well together.

I think the trouble with Mr. Carnegie is that he mistakes the situation. The social problem is not a question of what shall be done about Andrew Carnegie's wealth. The real question is, What shall be done about other men's poverty? Something *must* be done about it. I don't want to be rude to Mr. Carnegie, but his apology for things as they are is all nonsense. It is literally not sense. Things as they are are *not* as they ought to be. Society has no more right than Mr. Carnegie himself to buy anything with a price, if the price is to be the denial of justice to any man or men. If cheap calicoes and Waterbury watches are not to be had save by herding the men who *make* calicoes and Waterbury watches into tenement houses and hovels, then we ought to do without them. To dispute that is to justify the robber who breaks into the rich man's house, because he wants the wealth contained in it and knows no other way to get it. But isn't it absurd for a man like Andrew Carnegie to come before us, gravely announcing that the only way for society to advance in wealth production is to give the men whose labor produces wealth as little wealth as possible.

Oh, Andrew Carnegie! Andrew Carnegie! You call yourself a captain of industry, and you really are a captain of industry, too. You are one of the men to whom nature has given a talent for co-ordinating industry—one of those who know how to handle and use to best advantage the great human machinery of production. You have learned how to direct the movements of a great industrial army so that every man in its ranks shall co-operate with every other man—make every other man's work a little more efficient. The joy of life to you is not the mere accumulation of wealth, but the overcoming of difficulties—the solving of the problems of production. It is the ardor of the conflict with nature that you feel—the dust of the great battle for the subduing of the earth that delights you. A captain of industry! You glory in the title. It is more to you than all your millions. Well, now, tell me what you think of a captain who lets his army fight in fetters and will not raise a hand to strike the fetters off. That is what you are doing. And you ought to be ashamed of it.

You make steel rails. You bend your mind to study how best the labor of ten thousand men can be co-ordinated, so that steel rails shall be produced with the application of the least possible amount of labor to the raw materials of the earth. You have little difficulty in doing that. With years of labor and experience you have built up a great industrial machine that you manage with consummate skill. But what is the problem that constantly confronts you and will *not* be solved? Isn't it this: How to get a market for your rails? You foolish captain. Can't you see that the market for your rails is limited, not because men don't *want* steel rails, but because they can't afford to buy them. Can't you see that the problem: How can they be enabled to afford to buy them, is the problem that you have got to solve, if you want to be indeed a great captain of industry? Can't you see which way to look for the solu-

tion? Can't you see that the reason why men can't afford to buy your rails is because they can't get work and wages? Can't you see that men are eager to work, but that *something* prevents them? Find out what that something is, and join hands with those who are trying to abolish it, and then, indeed, you may make your mark upon the age as the noblest captain of industry the world has ever known!

Oh, Andrew Carnegie! Have you so little confidence in your own abilities, that you fear to head an army of freemen, instead of a horde of slaves? Can you call yourself an individualist, and not blush to see your fellow men forbidden to work without other men's permission? An apostle of competition, aren't you ashamed to skulk behind a protective tariff? A believer in democracy, don't your cheeks burn as you contemplate your own ideal of society—a few rich men on top, distributing gifts, and all the rest of mankind standing humbly and obediently below? You have seized your chance and have improved it nobly. Are you going to make it the aim and object of your life to lessen the opportunities of other men? How much nobler—how much worthier a true man of the people—to strive to increase, instead of diminishing them! You are eloquent about the duties of the rich toward their fellow men. Think what those duties really are!

T. L. McCREADY.

SOME FOREIGN ITEMS.

There have long existed in Germany and elsewhere societies for collecting cigar ends—the tips cut off to permit of suction on lighting, and the parts left when the smoker dare not proceed further out of mercy to his mustache. It is customary to have boxes for preserving these remnants on the tables of hotel smoking rooms, as well as in private houses. They are collected at given times and sold to the manufacturers, who make snuff of them, or cut them up after a kindly steeping for smoking mixtures. Their price goes to orphan institutions or other charities. Now the news reaches the Newcastle Chronicle that an organization of the kind, and that on a grand scale, has just been started in Sweden. The queen is president, and young ladies and gentlemen throughout the country are members. Fathers and brothers and sweethearts are to be prayed not to throw away cigar ends. These are to be gathered from the streets. The money to be got for the product will nourish and educate 500 children.

A French scientist says that, allowing five acres for each inhabitant, Europe has room for 115,000,000 more people, Africa for 1,235,000,000, Asia 1,402,000,000, Oceania for 515,000,000, and America for 2,000,000,000. And yet some people talk about the world getting over-crowded!

There was an amusing little encounter at a dinner table at which Mr. John Morley was a guest not many nights ago. A good natured but very tory peeress was discussing the home rule question, and, by a curious accident, being quite ignorant of Mr. Morley's personality, proceeded to sum him up in polite but very forcible language. "Now, there is that Mr. Morley," she went on, "I am told he is a most charming man personally, but he is quite a revolutionary character. Why, I fully believe he is as bad as those horrid people in France a hundred years ago." "My dear Lady—," was the reply, "all that you say may be quite true, but will you allow me to remind you that my neighbor on my left-hand side is Mr. John Morley himself?"—[London Star.]

Mr. Goschen, the English minister of finance, has proposed a new estate duty which means something like an income tax. One of the provisions in the proposed law was that landed estates should be taxed on their "principal" value. Come to find out what this term means it seems that the idea is to tax landed estates on a value proportionate to the income actually derived from them, not proportionate to their real potential value. Thus a man who held a "castle" and four or five thousand acres which produced no income would pay little or no tax, while a factory owner would pay a heavy one.

The ancient Japanese custom of hari-kari, or happy dispatch, has received a set-back. For centuries it has been the custom for officials of high rank, who may have offended their sovereign, to disembowel themselves upon intimation from the mikado. Not long ago an old and trusted official wounded the feelings of the monarch, and the next day an officer brought him the fatal sword, a magnificent weapon, encrusted with rare jewels. The culprit received the sword, packed his valuables, and took the steamer for Havre en route to Paris, where he sold the sword of honor for six thousand pounds sterling.—[London Truth.]

At the Armagh, Ireland, quarter sessions, a short time ago, an old man named Francis Fitzpatrick, having been found guilty of stealing a pair of boots, was sentenced by Judge Kisbey to ten years' penal servitude.

WHAT A COUNTRY GIRL SAW IN THE CITY.

I spent a month lately in New York, and since my return to this quiet New England town I am often asked what I was most impressed with in the great city, it being my first visit there. In reply I, of course, fall to describing the wonderful sights I saw, yet on reflection I think I do that because it is expected of me. The truth is the picture I mentally review the oftenest is that of the house in which I had lodgings. Not that the house itself was especially noteworthy, but that one class of its occupants presented to me a problem in social life which I cannot easily dismiss from my mind. It was the servant class.

The house was of four stories and a basement, two rooms in width front and rear. The landlady was a gentlewoman of decayed fortunes, who had been educated to regard servants as a breed of domestic beasts of burden—irresponsible and unteachable beings, having the undeveloped minds of young children but endowed with the physical powers of work animals.

On the day of our arrival my aunt and I were admitted to the house by a strapping woman of thirty, who made no reply to our inquiry for the lady of the house, but, after a stare at us, motioned us into the parlor, and disappeared down the back stairway. The landlady soon appeared, received us, and in sending us to our rooms put us in charge of a slow, stupid girl, who drawled "yes," or "no" in answer to the questions we found it necessary to ask in installing ourselves.

The next morning occurred the first event in the series that awakened in my mind the problem I have mentioned. The landlady entered our room and informed my aunt and me that the big woman had had a friendly call the evening before from her cousin, a chambermaid in a hotel, that the two had taken a convivial glass together, and that the task of unburdening themselves of their fund of fresh gossip and ancient stories had kept them up until 2 o'clock. The big woman had then gone off to see her friend to a street car, wearing a fine cloak belonging to the landlady, and had not yet returned. The landlady declared she was much distressed not only at the loss of her garment but at the thought of the evil influence the character of the big woman might have on that of her other girl, who, she said, was a real innocent young creature.

A little while afterward my aunt and I went out on a sight-seeing tour. The first thing that we saw out of the ordinary was our big woman supporting herself against an area fence and declaiming to a crowd. Her black hair was disarranged and her face was a violent red. Her language was not choice. She saw us, and for a moment we were frightened. But to our surprise she turned her face away and hung her head.

When we reached the house after our day's journeying about town we were admitted by the small, stupid girl. She began talking volubly to us at once. I looked at her to find out what had loosened her tongue, and I saw that her eyes were "swimming in her head." The landlady soon tapped at our room door, and confided to us the pleasant information that both her girls were down in the kitchen intoxicated. The big woman had returned without the cloak, but she had reeled a little, smelled strongly of rum, and had a flask in her pocket. Her example had had a ruinous effect on the other girl. Would she not discharge them? No; she hardly knew. Good girls were scarce!

In some way, however, a change came about in the down-stairs dynasty. The next day a gray-haired woman with a young face reported rather tardily to attend to our room. She bade us good morning and then talked. Before she quit the room she had related much family history and many bits of personal reminiscence, feeling no discouragement when my aunt and I interrupted her several times to speak to each other in a tongue she did not understand. In the course of the morning, the landlady happened to pass by our door when it was open. She stopped, just for a moment she said, to say that she had got a new girl, the other two having gone without warning. For rough work she had hired a boy, with whom she hoped to have less trouble than with girls. Before leaving, she gave us detailed information with respect to hired help in general and her own experiences in that respect in particular.

The talkative girl—she of the youth-

ful countenance and gray hair—remained in the house a week, telling us, however, the third day that she should leave as soon as she could claim wages. Her life was a round of pleasant calls, for her, on the lodgers. Each room in turn was visited, a few touches of the broom given it, a few attempts at restoring order out of chaos made, and then a steady stream of talk was turned on the lodger unless he or she found security in flight. Her favorite topic was her honesty. Her reputation in this respect, however, one day met with a rude shock, the effects of which continued for an interesting quarter of an hour. My aunt missed her gold watch just after the girl had left the room. She quickly searched for it in every place where she usually laid it or put it away. I interviewed the girl, who had gone meanwhile to an upper story, told her that the watch was missing, and reminding her of the fact that she had not yet been downstairs since it had disappeared, told her she had better not try to go down until it was found, as if she did so her precious reputation for honesty might be injured. Would she not please just assist us in our hunt for the watch? She obeyed cheerfully. My aunt and I found it convenient to adjourn to the hallway for a moment while the girl rummaged and searched. Then my aunt returned, opened her jewelry box, and there was the watch! The girl was overjoyed that it had been found. Her reputation for honesty was saved.

I had not seen the boy the landlady had spoken of, but I had once or twice observed a hoodlum-like fellow slouching about the lower hallway since she had told us of the advent of the boy. One morning, about a week after she had engaged him, she suddenly made her appearance in our room and said he had disappeared, taking with him valuables belonging to her that she was little able to lose. She only knew that his name was "Charles," and had not asked him for references. He never was heard of again.

The gray haired talker was prompt in leaving when she promised. For one brief day after she left there flitted about the halls a smart, black-eyed girl, who was not heard of afterward, excepting that the landlady dropped the remark that some girls were above their business. Next in the arena appeared a small, thin old German woman, who plodded along at her work and spoke but little. By this time the problem had awakened my curiosity, and I wanted more light on it. In response to some expressions of sympathy this woman told me that she had immigrated to this country with her husband many years ago. They had been successful; accumulating some ten thousand dollars, and living in a good neighborhood for a long while. Her husband fell sick, however, went back to Germany with her seeking better health, came to this country again, and went back still another time, and died, leaving nothing. She might perhaps get a little aid from his people should she ask it. But, thank God, she could work!

Somehow an antipathy grew up between this German woman and the landlady. The latter had rules—when she could enforce them. No servant should speak while she was speaking. None should have company, male or female. None should use the front staircase. One day I found her having an altercation with our dressmaker, a young woman of whom I stood in some awe—she knew the fashions, etiquette, the city shops, the theatres, the great folks of society, and many other things going to make up a modern girl's education. And the landlady had actually reminded her that servants must go up the back stairs! There was an explosion of fireworks right there that did honor to the centennial times and the spirit of American independence.

Well, the old German woman had her independent notions, too. They cost her her place. She packed up and went off looking very respectable. She was willing to work, but unwilling to bend her pride. She was very poor. I think she must have been nearly seventy years of age.

Two new girls now made their appearance simultaneously. One was a woman of perhaps thirty-five. She had a good countenance. Her features were regular, her eyes especially fine. Her frame was strongly made. She had undoubtedly been once a fine looking brunette. But how worn and pale she was now, how weak, apparently. She had a deep-seated cough. I sympathized with this girl the moment I saw her. Perhaps I

showed it too quickly. At any rate, when I asked her about her health, she remained silent a moment, then looked at me without a change of expression, and simply said that she had a cough. There was enough in her action to let me know I was not at liberty to ask her questions. She went about slowly—she was not strong enough to move quickly—but she did her work perfectly well. She seemed to perform her duties mechanically, never smiling, not humming a tune, nor exhibiting distress. She spoke to no one without being spoken to, and answered all questions in monosyllables, gently. She left on one's mind the impression that she was suffering stoically, perhaps with no religion to comfort her—certainly with no faith in human nature. Her past life was her own secret. Her future—no one was invited to show any interest in that. I might have remained in ignorance regarding her, had it not been for the landlady's habit of stopping at our room door to talk a little. The girl had been a fur worker. She had made fair wages, but her sister had been sick a long time and then died, and that had taken her earnings. She herself had had a cough for nearly a year, and had lived in a little room down town alone. She had been obliged to give up her work last fall. The landlady said she believed she was almost starved when she came to the house, as she had eaten ravenously for several days after her arrival.

The other girl was a green young thing lately arrived from England, a heavy-faced girl, with an abundance of hay colored hair and superfluous layers of flesh. The landlady took much pleasure in informing us that she intended training that lump of inexperience. It would be her delight to teach the girl the thousand and one things she did not know about house-keeping, and then be envied in the possession of a polished household jewel. The girl sulked about for two days and then suddenly left, saying the place was too lonely; she had always been used to living in families where there were young men.

When my aunt and I came away the girl with a cough was yet in the house, still quiet and gentle and mysterious. She was assisted by a colored girl, a fat, good natured soul, whose noisy laughter and chatter disturbed people at all hours of the day. The landlady regarded her with a mingling of fear and antipathy; she was so crude, ugly and slatternly. She said of her: "If she ever falls against the wall she will stick."

The problem on which my mind is engaged is not the petty one of what caused the coming and going of the servant women at that house. We have poor people in our town, of course. But they have sympathy, care when they are sick, little jobs given them to keep them going, and really in the last extremity the almshouse is not so bad as it might be. The church societies attend to the organized relief, and public sentiment and opinion has a good deal to do in mitigating the evils of poverty. I do not expect the poor to be contented with such a lot, but I think they escape the horrors of the poor in the cities. My brief experience in New York has set me to thinking and asking questions. Those women I saw—some degraded, some foolish, some as good as the best—are they not fair specimens of thousands floating about among the swarms of the city poor, seeking their bite and shelter? I am afraid from what I hear and read that they are. What is to relieve their condition, what prevent more thousands from falling to their level? I know there are many institutions founded and maintained by generous men and women where such people may find a helping hand. But I will not be told that that is enough. The existence of masses of such poor men and women is evidence of a disease which cannot be cured by such means. Their poverty is that of body, mind, soul. Their wretchedness is lifelong, horrible. Their deprivations are those of the savage, yet they live in sight of wealth and with every mark of civilization about them.

What most deeply impressed me with the city was its poor. The idea that will not leave me is that their poverty is not all their fault and that it should not exist.

KATHERINE WIRT.

—, Vermont, June 1.

A General Movement to Reduce Wages.

St. Louis Age of Steel.
It is patent that a general movement to reduce wages is starting, and it is difficult to tell where it will stop, in the iron and steel industries.

NEW IDEAS, METHODS AND INVENTIONS.

Toughened Paper.

Paper as tough as wood is said to be made by mixing chloride of zinc with the pulp in course of manufacture.

New Process of Making White Lead.

A new process for the manufacture of white lead has, after lengthened experiments, been invented and patented by the well-known Scotch chemist, Mr. J. B. Hannay, F. R. S. E. The invention bids fair to completely revolutionize this important industry. As a matter of fact, there has heretofore been practically very little change made in the method of manufacture for several centuries, and the so-called improvements have turned out in almost every case disappointing. By the old method of manufacture, lead ore must first be converted into pig lead, then refined, desilverized, and made into thin sheets, and lastly, placed in sacks and submitted to the action of acetic acid, carbonic acid, and air. After about three months' action the lead is, to a large extent, converted by the fumes of the acid into crusts of white lead (carbonate of lead), which, after being ground to powder, lixiviated, and dried, forms the white lead of commerce, the entire process occupying about four months. During the process the lead is contained in small dishes, which require a great amount of handling, and as cheap labor is required, women are employed. All the salts of lead are poisonous, but by far the most virulent of them is the carbonate. Like mercury lead can poison through the pores of the skin, and the result of its frequent handling is a species of rheumatism, paralysis and death, which is almost invariably resultant upon a second seizure of the disease of lead poisoning. The women who have once suffered from the disease will never again be received in a factory by the owners, but they often change their names and residences and seek new employment, only to be again taken with the malady and become hopeless invalids or die. Mr. Hannay uses "galena" or the crude lead ore, as it comes from the mine, and by a simple oxidation by air produces white lead of the finest quality in the course of a few hours instead of months as heretofore. The process is, in fact, perfectly continuous, for as the men are shoveling the ore into the furnace at one end the pumps are drawing the wet white lead at the other, so that this method of manufacture may be said to be practically instantaneous, while the whole process requires no skilled labor, and all the danger of lead poisoning, which has hitherto proved such a scourge to operatives, is averted. By the old process the cost of producing a ton of white lead was quite £16 and the product was sold by the manufacturer for £18 10s per ton. By Mr. Hannay's process a ton of infinitely superior white lead can be produced for under £10, and the white lead thus manufactured has been extensively purchased at prices ranging as high as £25.

Ozone.

Ozone—active oxygen—is believed to be a product of plant life, especially, according to Dr. Anders, the product of opening blossoms. As ozone is believed to be the agent which destroys the germs of disease, or perhaps prevents their active development, the relation of plants to the public health assumes a new interest. There was a marked deficiency of ozone in the atmosphere at Marseilles during the existence of cholera there, and in one hospital where artificial ozone was provided the death rate was low. The fatality was found to be greatest always in proportion to the smallest amount of atmospheric ozone. The influence of a thunder shower on vegetation is well known to be wonderful, and it is said that after thunder showers the atmosphere always presents a marked addition to its ozone, and instances are given where epidemics at once ceased after thunder showers. The atmospheric fragrance so perceptible after a summer thunder shower is referred to the increase of ozone. The belief becoming prevalent that pine forests aid in the production of ozone does not find support. It is well known that the terrible yellow fever scourge of a few years ago was just as prevalent if not more so in some of the thickly growing pine regions of southwestern Mississippi as elsewhere. There is more ozone in a pine forest than in the open, but this is attributed to the greater presence of moisture in the air and not to any influence direct from the pine trees. Humidity with a high temperature seems to be particularly favorable to the existence of ozone. Humidity under a low temperature has no influence whatever. A moist and cool climate may be unsalubrious, but a warm, moist one much healthier than has generally been supposed. The exact manner in which ozone acts in favor of health is not yet known. The proof seems to tend to the conclusion that there is no physiological action connected with it. And yet there seems to be active consumption of ozone in what may be termed the purifying process. This would indicate that beside being in some measure an agent opposed to the development of disease germs, it also acts as an oxidizer.—[San Francisco Argonaut.

One of the Effects of the Adoption of the Single Tax Would be More Marriages.

San Francisco Star.

Miss Culture—What do you think of Henry George's single tax idea?

Miss Gushington—Well, I see no reason why he should not tax single men, but I don't think he'd ought to tax single women—it isn't our fault.

Heads, Protection Wins; Tails, Labor Loses.

Philadelphia Record.

Against foreign competition the thorough-bred protectionist defends himself by high tariffs. Against home competition he fortifies himself by low wages. For taking care of himself he is altogether lovely.

GROPING FOR CO-OPERATION.

Forty years ago John Stuart Mill believed he saw a way by which workingmen as a class might attain their independence. It was by voluntary co-operation. Having saved something from their earnings, a body of workmen, instead of permitting capitalists to make profits through their purchases or out of their labor, were to carry on business with their own means and retain the profits for themselves. Through distributive co-operation they were to exclude middlemen. Through productive co-operation they were to give themselves employment. Workingmen in general were to follow the plan of this typical body, with the result of pushing to the wall the establishments organized on the weaker basis of selfish capital employing dependent labor, losing through the wastes of competition, and burdened with expenses that ought to be eliminated.

Though Mill changed his views in this respect, a school of economists have ever since upheld the kind of co-operation mentioned as the leading necessary measure in improving the condition of the working classes. To many it is a seductive scheme. Violent attempts at revolution are not included in it. It does not call for the recognition of wrongs in the present social system. It does not concern itself with politics or changes in political institutions. Its programme provides for what looks like plain sailing. If one workingman can put by something, go into business and succeed, who is to find fault? No one, of course; and if many do it, so much the better. And if many can do it, why should it not be possible in time for all? Why, in fact, should not co-operation be in this way gradually substituted for competition?

In the introduction to the "History of Co-operation in the United States," a book published last year, Prof. Richard T. Ely, after mentioning with praise the names of several men connected with the beginnings of co-operation in England, said they had not so labored because they hoped to bring about a state of things in which a few people could buy sugar at two farthings less per pound or coal a few pence less per ton. They "contemplated a thorough-going reconstruction of industrial society." And he added that it was this contemplated outcome of industrial evolution that rendered the volume in question peculiarly interesting and instructive.

The data for the volume referred to were gathered mostly in 1886, when the labor press was almost a unit in calling for co-operative enterprises on the part of the workers, when the lecturers of the Knights of Labor were declaring that co-operation was a cardinal principle with the order, and when by their publications several sociological societies were encouraging the workers to believe that co-operation was the means by which they might reach a higher social plane. The work was written by "five Johns Hopkins men," as Prof. Ely terms them, truthful men, not a great deal influenced by the enthusiasms of the moment, and avowedly philosophers of the type that want facts for theories to come. They recorded facts as they saw them. They theorized but little. Yet, aside from Prof. Ely's prefatory remarks, there is evidence enough that the thought each had in mind was that he was assisting in putting on record the attempts of the pioneers who were laying the foundations in this country of a new and better industrial system. Still, they meant to be fair. They told faithfully the stories of the rise and decadence of the New England Protective Union, the Patrons of Husbandry and the Sovereigns of Industry. But then they showed the causes for the failures of these associations. In one case the growth of the co-operative body was too rapid for its strength; in another the management was arbitrary. Again, salaries were put at too high a figure, or members "were untrained in habits of due subordination and unhesitating obedience." Mistakes and failures ever characterize the beginnings of social experiments, and the writers believed they could see the winning principle even wherein failure put an end to a score of affiliated undertakings.

There is an excellent index at the end of this scientific volume, in which is given the name of every co-operative concern mentioned in it. It would be helpful to its readers, as students of the history of co-operation up to date, if the authors

were now to issue a supplement relating the progress of each of these enterprises during the past three years.

How, for example, is the famous South Norwalk hat company getting along? What is the present annual income of the solidarity societies which were started in this city? The many local co-operative stores, set up a year or two before they were made to make a record in history, how are they progressing as a rule? The numerous establishments that were opened up by men on strike, with the assistance of their fellow workers elsewhere, what of them? Have the large sums handed by the co-operative branch of the Knights of Labor been productive of a reasonable proportion of the results hoped for? Has the prodigious amount of gratuitous advertising given the general project of co-operation been as helpful to it as it might have been to private business houses?

The statistics in this book were regarded as encouraging. In 1887 the entire business done in New England by distributive co-operation was \$2,000,000, the capital engaged being \$187,467; that by productive co-operation (including creameries) was \$7,000,000. A dozen large firms of the country were sharing profits with their employees; the coopers of Minneapolis were conducting several co-operative shops, in one of which the average capital for each co-operator was \$500; the Mormon church had an immense co-operative store in connection with it, and finally there were the co-operative building and loan associations, hundreds of them, triumphantly successful. Enough co-operation was being carried on to draw forth the opinion from one of the five compilers that "the tide seems to be turning,"—that conditions "are paving the way for co-operation on an extensive scale." Yet to the reader who made comparisons between the sum of the co-operative work of the country and that done in the old way, the figures standing for co-operation looked pitifully small. To him who bore in mind the development of corporations, the growth of co-operative bodies was almost as naught. If obvious tendencies in industrial progress were to be noted, that of associated capital on a great scale was by all odds the most prominent.

The American economic association, which published the "History of Co-operation in the United States," and of which Professor Ely is secretary, has just published a pamphlet, "Socialism in England," in which interesting references are made to the results of voluntary co-operation in that country. The author affirms that "it must now be apparent, even to the most sanguine of individualists, that the chance of the great bulk of the laborers ever rising by associations for co-operative production has become even less hopeful than it ever was." "A whole generation of experiments has done little more than show the futility of expecting real help from this quarter. Less than one four-hundredth part of the industry of the country (England) is yet carried on by co-operation." "Ordinary joint stock investment is now rapidly elbowing it out of the field, and, measured by the capital employed, is already a hundred and sixty times as great as co-operation."

The picture of co-operation being elbowed out of the field is drawn in accurate lines by the author of the chapters on "Co-operation in the West," in the "History of Co-operation." "There are conditions," he says, "under which the co-operative is demonstrably inferior to the distinctly competitive organization for the attainment of given objects. One simple example may be given of an industry that has so changed that co-operation once possible and advisable is now inadvisable, though still possible. When threshing machines first came into use they were small affairs, usually run by one or two horses in a tread-mill horse-power. Small as they were, each machine could do much more than thresh the crop of an average farmer, and so it was usual for several farmers to combine, buy a machine, thresh their own crops, do, perhaps, some work for their neighbors, and divide the profits. As the machines were improved and enlarged it became more and more difficult for an ordinary farmer to operate one to advantage. The value of special skill and aptitude for the business of running a threshing machine increased as the business became more technical, for each mistake delayed or wasted the labor of an increasing number of men and teams. Nor did farmers find it profitable to buy machines and hire experienced men to run them, for the chances of wasting time and effort were so numerous that experience proved that only one having

personal interest in the result could be relied upon to do the best possible work. With the advent of the present steam threshing, having a thirty-six-inch cylinder and a daily capacity that would formerly have been considered fabulous, the change is complete, and threshing is almost universally done by men who charge a given rate per bushel, which rate is fixed by the law of supply and demand. Farmers are still at liberty to combine, buy machinery and do their own threshing, but they would infallibly lose money by doing so."

There seems to be volumes in the admissions of this passage. On reading it one is inclined to stop and ask questions. To what extent do conditions prevail "under which the co-operative is demonstrably inferior to distinctly competitive organization?" What is the proportion of cases in which "co-operation once possible and advisable is now inadvisable, though possible?" Was it advisable, for example, to establish a co-operative meat store in Adams, Massachusetts, in the face of the Chicago dressed beef agencies? Was it advisable to begin the Women's Co-operative Dress Association in New York and try to compete with the great bazaars? One must remember, too, wherein co-operation is neither possible nor advisable—in supplying communities with oil, gas or coal; in building and operating railroads; in speculating in high-priced real estate; in producing a host of articles turned out from manufacturing establishments where the plant must be costly and the labor subdivided if the product is to be put on the market at a cost as low as that to competitors. Where, in truth, is co-operation possible save in comparatively narrow limits, in circumstances differing from those that characterize general modern industrial methods?

Grant the English co-operative stores. Grant the building and loan associations of this country. What else does the history of co-operation give us? An endless series of experiments, often promoted by zealous and honest men, usually shared in by enthusiastic believers, and in the end making an impression on the general trend of affairs in commerce and industry that is absolutely imperceptible. Meanwhile, other forces have revolutionized trade. Men of special skill and aptitudes, having a "personal interest in the results," have pushed on and persisted in doing the best work, preventing a "waste of time and effort" on the part of workers in general; and, tested by the law of supply and demand, their methods and their results have been accepted by the masses of buyers, sellers and consumers.

What is co-operation? Was it co-operation when half a dozen farmers bought a threshing machine, threshed their own grain, and then went about to make wages threshing for their neighbors, and not co-operation when half a dozen stockholders put a better threshing machine at work, in charge of skilled attendants, and ran it for all who could pay? What broad line of distinction separates the English co-operative stores operated on the Rochdale plan from the bazaar system? What is the essential difference between a building and loan association and ordinary banking? Unlike in organization and in details of operation, all these methods of wealth-gaining have in one important point a strong resemblance to joint stock companies, namely, in the investments made in them for gain through trade carried on under competition.

Look at the work of the English co-operative stores. One of them has hundreds, perhaps thousands, of shareholders, whose dividends increase with the amount of their purchases. It is possible to manage it with certain economies not practicable in the ordinary shop. But its employees are hired and paid just as are the ordinary shopman's. Its relation to the community is the same as his. Each is an institution competing for its existence with others of its kind and of other kinds. The co-operative store may give its shareholders better bargains than its rivals, and it may not. Great bazaars, many of them, have grown up in London, contemporaneously with the stores. In this country, the large co-operative store has not gained a foothold in a single city, the bazaar here co-operating better for its customers—the public—than the so-called co-operative stores have been able to do. The English stores, in buying or manufacturing their stocks, have little or no co-operative side. Their factory hands and outside workers in London were lately found to be, as a rule, just in the condition of the working people generally. And this is co-operation. If so,

its process of a "thoroughgoing reconstruction of society" stops short.

In a factory where the hands work by the piece, the materials are given out, and each person works up his share and returns it to the general lot, or perhaps passes it on to the workmen who finish another of the processes necessary in making a complete article. Each hand draws pay according to the quantity of work he turns out. If the English store is co-operative, should not such a factory be called so as well? The shareholder in a store has invested some money with which a stock of goods has been bought, and in proportion to his purchases and those of his fellow investors he gains. The piece hand has invested time and money in acquiring skill, and in proportion to his work and those of his fellows he gains. In either case, the co-ordination of many, each acting for self, is requisite for the results. Shareholders and factory hands alike are hedged in by conditions in which capitalists striving for the highest prices, workers whose labor is sold in competition, and rent based on monopoly, are features.

In co-operation, men should be trained to "habits of subordination and obedience!" Should the captains of industry be so bound—those men who are organizers, or who are judges of when and where to buy and when to sell at any sacrifice, or who have a way of discovering public wants, or who in devising methods can see short cuts to profits? The test that men have such talents lies in their success or failure. It happens that most men with a turn for business—nearly all men in all ranks of trade not reduced to mere machines—believe they are, in one way or another, such captains. With a little encouragement, how many are willing to try to be! Mankind loves independence. It chafes in a state of discipline and regulation. It pines neither for Pullman cities nor the ideal regime of the prohibitionists.

The co-operation of the historians of co-operation is not the thing they longed for. A little capital has been divided among a few more people than it might have been, the condition of some laborers has been bettered, but the scheme has run against overpowering forces in industrial development. It does not align with human nature at large. It has not and cannot do the work laid out for it. It has proved to compass little more than a branch of domestic economy. Carried out to the fullest extent that might be hoped for, and imitated wherever possible, the sort of co-operation the historians in question have been coddling, could effect no change in general social conditions.

He best co-operates with another who brings to hand the thing wanted when wanted. Across the square, on a corner of two of the busiest streets of the city, a large business house is going up. The architect must finish it at a given date or lose. He is cramped for room, as he must not cumber up the street. Every day a certain progress must be made, each week a given stage arrived at. The different gangs of men—cellar diggers, stone masons, joiners, plumbers, roofers, painters—engaged beforehand, must be there as needed and none held idle. Rough stone for the foundation walls, hewn stone for other parts, brick for filling, brick for facing, iron beams, mortar, plastering, various forms of manufactured wood—all must come on time in their place, or time and money will be lost. The mortar goes up on steam hoisters, every gang moves like a machine at its foreman's bid, each man works with the best of tools. The cost of the house when finished determines the builder's profit. To bring about the best result—the house well built at the least expenditure—men have planned, invented, managed. Spurred on by the hope of reward, talent has been cultivated, skill brought to its highest efficiency. Here is co-operation. The buyer, the consumer, asks none better.

Two men working together will do far more than double the work of one man working alone. Yet one man laboring on a little bit of land may sustain himself. A score of men will perform a hundred times the work of one man, and a hundred men with machinery will increase the quantity of the product immeasurably. In a state of freedom, in which every man might demand his share of the increase, there would be no need of that so-called voluntary co-operation which is really inefficient association enforced by poverty and restriction. Let men be made free by freeing the sources of wealth and they will learn in the light of their own interests to adjust industrial forces in general after the manner of those brought

into play in the erection of a great modern building. With every man his own captain of industry, the hunt for equitable productive co-operation might not need to last long. With all men free to develop their powers of invention or organization, and to take risks in new undertakings, the way for the role of the capitalist would be indefinitely widened, with a resultant marvelous increase of wealth, the independent workers meantime taking the full fruits of their toil.

J. W. SULLIVAN.

THE LESSON OF THE CHEROKEES.

A dispatch from Purcell, Ind. Ter., to the New York papers, dated June 6, says that the representatives of the wild tribes in the International Indian council had agreed to ratify whatever action was taken by the chiefs of the five civilized tribes in regard to the Indian lands. Of these five probably the most influential is the Cherokee nation, and the policy of the nation has already been outlined by Mr. Shelton, editor of the chief's organ, the Talequah Telephone. Mr. Shelton confirms the statements made by Mr. Robert L. Owen, the United States government's agent, in 1886. In his report for that year Mr. Owen said:

The most striking features in the governments of the Indian nations of this agency, when contrasted with that of their white neighbors, is that the title to their entire domain is in the nation as a practically unqualified fee, and the individual has only the right to use and occupy. He may sell and devise to other citizens his improvements and the right acquired by the improvement and the right of use and occupancy of a certain tract, and in case he dies intestate it descends, according to Indian statute law, to his wife, children or nearest relatives. He has the right to use all he can, but he must use it, and on his abandonment another citizen can take possession. This insures to every Cherokee who is willing to work a certain home and a certain remuneration for his labor. They have availed themselves of this in proportion to their intelligence, ambition and several abilities. There is a constitutional provision against unseemly speculation or monopoly of improvements on the public domain.

Although this tenure of lands may seem strange to those who have not seen its qualities tested, it is a proposition which from a public standpoint might well be argued as superior to the fee simple in the individual. This system precludes a possibility of unjust pauperism so often imposed on worthy labor by force of modern circumstances or ancient customs surviving in modern times. However this question may be argued by political economists, there is no doubt in my mind that this is the true safeguard for the Indian people until they have grown, under the educational influences now working, up to the capacity of full American citizenship, until they are able to cope with that most ingenious of all thieves, the insidious land swindler.

What Mr. Shelton says in the same connection is as follows:

The Cherokees do not want to sell any of their lands or divide up. I have proven that Indians can become civilized by retaining their lands in common. They want to live forever as they do now, and not like the white people who possess their lands in severalty, and allow the rich to buy all the land. There are millions of whites who have no land because a few men own it all; but the Indians are wise—they hold the land in common, so that the Indian can stay if he wants to. It is because the land system of the white man is wrong that the Cherokees prefer to stay a nation. Almost everything else the whites do is better, and the Indian must follow them, but the land system of the Indian is the better. The Cherokees are civilized and happy. If the wild tribes will get civilized they will be likewise, and the government will not take the land away from them. If the Indian sells his land or allows it to be divided in severalty, he will become a wandering gypsy. Let not the Indian be afraid the government will take his lands, for if he does not want to sell the supreme court will hold his title good if congress should attempt to force him to sell.

Coming from the editor of the official organ of the tribe and supported by impartial testimony, this is an absolute disproof of the statements of the crowd of boomers and land sharks who have for years been bombarding congress with petitions in favor of the division of Indian lands in severalty. That is to say, it is an argument that would convince any but the present logical descendants of those statesmen who twenty-five years ago handed over to a few railway princes a kingdom greater than France in area, and at the same time riveted on to the workingman a chain of war taxes and tributes heavier than the chains which he struck from the limbs of the southern slaves.

See the Whiskers on the Cat.

Big Rapids, Mich., Herald.

A well known farmer of Mecosta county and the editor of the Herald were talking this week on the tariff. The farmer has been a life long republican. The conversation closed with this by the farmer: "Yes we are protected; it takes nearly a bushel of wheat to buy a pound of sheep twine, which we tie around our pound of wool that we sell for sixteen cents; and our potatoes are worthless. Don't talk to me about protection to our industries."

QUERIES AND ANSWERS.

How to Bring It About.

BOSTON, Mass.—In correspondence with a young gentleman friend of mine who is interested in the single tax movement, the following question arose: "How can we put the single tax into effect until we remove all other taxes and tariffs?"

What methods would be adopted to bring the single tax into practical operation, without a most radical departure from, and upsetting of, all existing forms?

I am a single tax advocate, and a believer in its ultimate adoption, but may be dull on these points.

GEORGE EDGAR FRYE.

The tax which we call the single tax is a tax on the rental value of all land that has value. We have it already to some extent, for even vacant land is taxed slightly. But our present tax never can become the "single" tax, until it is single; that is, until there are no other taxes or tariffs. Two means are proposed and being tried in order to accomplish this: The first is to legislate away the other taxes, such as internal revenue taxes or tariff duties. If this is done, the government will be forced to tax something other than importations or businesses, and will have to resort to direct taxes, such as an income tax or a tax on real estate or on land values alone. When we get that far there is little doubt that the land value tax will be adopted. All this applies to the national revenues. In the states the most obvious course to pursue is to try and stop all taxation of special businesses, and to force the tax assessors to value speculative lands at their true value instead of now of assessing them at from one-half down to one-two-thousandth of their value. By this means the necessary taxes can be raised without bearing so heavily on house owners and house builders. As the benefits of such a course would be plain to all, for speculators would be anxious to sell and improve and thus stimulate industry, the next step would be to exempt all improvements, and then we would have (if there were no income tax) the single tax.

Now there is in this no upsetting of anything or anybody, in the sense of a violent revolution. It is already being done. Every struggle against the oppressive tariff is a struggle for us. Every election of tax assessors, such as we have in Port Jervis, New York, in Hyattsville, Maryland, and in Altoona, Pennsylvania, is a step in our direction. It is a reformation, not an upsetting.

W. B. S.

Taxes in China.

CINCINNATI.—Please let me know, in the next issue of THE STANDARD, how taxes are raised in China and oblige.

LOUIS BENJAMIN.

See query and answer in STANDARD of March 23, entitled "Taxation in China."

W. B. S.

SAN ANTONIO, Texas.—(1) In a discussion on the single tax, the objection was raised that steamship companies owning millions of dollars' worth of property would escape taxation. My answer was, that without the use of land for warehouses, docks, etc., steamships would be worthless, and that whenever they touched at these shores to discharge or take on cargo, they would be subject to the single tax. Please state in THE STANDARD the effect of the single tax on such property.

(2) Please give me the number of THE STANDARD containing the addresses of Henry George and Shearman before the Ohio legislature, illustrating the effect of the single tax on different classes, or rather occupations.

INQUIRER.

(1) Your answer was right. Wharves are among the most valuable sites in commercial centers. New York city owns some of her wharves and receives an annual rental of over a million and a half dollars from users. If this is a five per cent rental then these wharves alone are worth \$30,000,000. Under the single tax it would be a direct source of revenue to stop all taxes on steamship corporations, for there would be more ships and a greater demand for wharves; moreover all other businesses would be stimulated and the land values all over the city would rise. In taxing wealth or the production of wealth in any way we are simply killing the goose that lays the golden egg.

(2) Mr. Shearman's address before the Ohio legislature will be found in THE STANDARD of January 19. It is also printed in tract form.

W. B. S.

There Could be No Land Syndicate.

NEW YORK.—A question has come up among our friends that has called forth considerable discussion and some variety of opinion. Wishing to get the STANDARD's view, I will try to present both sides fairly: A certain quarrying company offers comparatively good wages to stone cutters, but fails to keep them in their employ long because the work-

men can employ themselves to better advantage on the neighboring hills getting out stone for themselves, earning a greater income by so doing than the wages offered by the company. It seems that the owner has no objection to their using the hills. It is claimed that, under present conditions, the company can and really intends to, purchase or lease the hills at a moderate figure, and, in that case, will be able to drive the quarrymen from the land, obliging them to go back into the quarry and work for the company at such wages as the latter may dictate. So far all is agreement.

But how would the matter stand under the single tax? The opposition says that the company could afford to pay a higher rental than the workman and would therefore outbid him and get possession of the land as well as now. Many arguments are offered on both sides, but is not the following a conclusive single tax answer?

The company could not get possession of the hills by merely offering the state a higher rent. It would have to deal with the stonecutter, who, no doubt, would have secured a deed for the land before he began to cut stone, probably without paying anything, as such land would not have selling value. The stonecutter would refuse to sell or lease his land unless the offer of the company was such as to make it pay for him to move to other free-stone land. All the quarrying companies together could not keep all the stone ladd of the United States tied up even if they got possession of the land first; because, although they might nominally hold such land as no one wished to use, they could not hold such land as others might wish to use; and the reason for this is that the rent of the most valuable quarrying land which they are using themselves will be so high that they will not get any undue advantage out of it and would not make a sufficient surplus each year to bid against several thousand poor men who want only a half acre each perhaps and who will be able to pay the tax on it because they will be rid of all taxes on their consumption. Also, capitalists will be as ready to lend money in small amounts to workmen as in large amounts to companies to pay their rent with, because the companies would no longer be able to give mortgages on land for security and because the workmen would have a good show to pay it back.

If it is contended that the poor man also will have to deal with the landlord who first obtained title to possession of the land, it may be answered that he would do so with just law for his powerful ally. For as soon as poor men want valueless land that the rich refuse to convey the title of, that land will begin to have a selling value, and poor men will not hesitate to let the assessor know it if he should be blind to the fact. Then on goes a tax which will be immense in the aggregate for the landlord who holds ten thousand acres, but a mere bagatelle for the man who wants one-quarter of an acre. The assessor will not place a tax on just the quarter-acre the poor man wants, but on ten thousand acres similarly situated.

When the poor man offers a small sum for the title to a quarter of an acre, the rich man will not be such a fool as to refuse it, because he will know that the poor man can go elsewhere and get the quarter acre. For there can be no combination of landlords of the whole country. We are drifting toward such a monopoly now, but the single tax will set the tide the other way, because valuable land held idle now will have to be dropped by speculators and taken up by users.

One other position of the objectors is that the company could get out more stone with less labor than the individual because it would do the work on a larger scale. There is some truth in this, as to most kinds of business, however it may be in quarrying. But the fact that a company could make more on each block taken out does not prove that he would undersell the individual stone cutter, because it would be to his interest to keep up prices. Let the demand remain good and the prices be kept up, and the individual stone cutter will continue to do a good business, even if not making money quite so fast as the company.

It is not altogether safe, however, to say

that a rich company can get out stone at less cost than the individual, if the former is obliged to pay rent on great quantities of land it is not using while the latter is free from a corresponding tax.

It would be a vast undertaking on the part of the company to attempt to drive the self-employed quarryman out of the market by underselling him, merely for the purpose of driving him out, when the market was really high. The company's business would greatly increase when selling goods for less than they are worth and they would require the services of a greater number of workmen, thus helping to relieve the labor market and raise wages.

If the company did sell at a ruinous price for a while and the workmen did therefore go into the company's quarry because they could make more, the company would begin then to sell at the market price again, and back to the land would go the workmen (who had not surrendered their title to the quarter acre) if they could again make high wages for themselves.

If the demand did not remain good on account of the abundant supply, a few stonecutters might go back to their former business without disaster as now, because plenty of other business would be open, as, for instance, the working up of this unlimited supply of stone.

The matter can be followed out further, but the opposition can never push us beyond these two positions:

First, The capitalist cannot tie up the immense quantity of land the speculator will have dropped.

Second, The unlimited supply of raw material will make business good, and the worker cannot fail to get a fair advantage either by employing himself or working for wages.

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152 West 103d street, New York.

What the Manager Would Have Said After He Understood the Proposition.

Hamilton, Ont., Times.

The Spectator says that Mr. Henry George arrived in Hamilton the other day and demanded from the manager of the Canada life assurance company his share of the unearned increment in the value of the land on which the Canada life building stands, and it represents the manager as arguing learnedly against the proposition. Of course our contemporary is only speaking figuratively. Mr. George is in France just now, and will not be on this side of the Atlantic before July 26. He has not been talking to the manager of the Canada life, but if he had done so, he would not have received the reply which the Spectator writes out. We venture to assert that if the tax-collector would make a proposition to Mr. Ramsay to remit the taxes on the Canada life building, on the furniture therein, and on the incomes of the managing director and his numerous assistants, Mr. Ramsay would tell him to take the whole rental value of the land in lieu of the remitted taxes, and would save a deal of money by the exchange. It is not the owners of improved property who would be made poorer by the single tax. It is those who hold land idle for speculation. Where the improvements are worth more than the land the abolition of the tax on improvements is a benefit, and not a damage, to the owner.

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BURNING, BLISTERING IRONY.

Two Plans Suggested by Which to Relieve the Earth of Its Surplus Humanity, and One by Which That Surplus Will Be Provided For in Plenty and Comfort.

Th. J. Dier in Nashville Herald.

Did you read that "special" in last Tuesday's American headed, "The Poor of New York City?" Even if you did, it will not hurt you to read these extracts from it a second time:

The number of the unemployed in New York city far exceeds 70,000 and this army is increasing at a terrible rate. In factories men, women and children are maimed by machinery, sometimes killed, and their families are the greater sufferers. Innumerable lodging houses accommodate thousands of wrecked existences and miserable wretches. In the homes of the poor the mothers and wives lead a life of terrible drudgery and untold misery. In factories white slave girls toil from early dawn till late in the night, being flogged heavily for laughing, talking, lurching, or sitting down. Harsh treatment, continuous overwork and miserable pay soon reduce the fresh and plump country girl to a mere skeleton. Upon the streets swarms of beggar children are roaming about, selling flowers, papers, etc., as a blind. There is fearful mortality in the tenement house pest holes. Death reaps a rich harvest among the babies of the poor during the sweltering summer months. Instead of being at school there are 30,000 children in ill-ventilated, unhealthy, unsafe factories, slaving as seldom did a slave in the south or a serf in the middle ages. Too much work for some, no work for many; low wages and long hours are the price of a bare existence. Short lived men, sickly women, puny children of stunted growth, are toiling at home and shop, week days and Sundays, day and night. In vain men and women are fighting against the competing machines run by tiny children. The rents for the poor are higher in New York than anywhere else, the evictions are numerous and as heartlessly executed as in Ireland.

Stale bread is the staple food. The poor pay more for their bushel of coal in comparison than the millionaire for his tons of tons. The necessities of life are adulterated. The grocer seems to think that milk and water, butter and fat, sugar and sand, mashed potatoes in bread, do not hurt the stomach of those who cannot protest, cannot protect themselves, and do not know how to get their rights. The clothing of the poor are considered rags by better-to-do people. Shoes in summer and socks in winter are considered luxuries many cannot afford. Incompetent and careless medical treatment in hospitals is killing the poor by hundreds. If the hospital walls could talk they would tell many a tale of cruelty, neglect and fiendishness. The rich man gives bail, but the poor wretch is sent to the house of detention while his family starves.

The poor of the people, the outcasts of society, the pariahs of modern civilization are becoming more irritated every year. Bread and work are what they want. In London, Paris, Berlin, Vienna and New York, the army of the unemployed, the dissatisfied, the starving, is growing from month to month. Charities of every kind have been tried and found unavailing. Never has there been so much suffering as now. With all the facilities imaginable to make the life of every individual happy and secure, some competent observers have pronounced our system of society a gigantic failure.

Nor is this state of things peculiar to New York. From all the great centers of population, not only in America, but throughout the world, come reports of similar suffering and an alarming increase in misery. What great mind will formulate the plan to correct the evil?

Well, here are three plans which I respectfully suggest for consideration. The first one is the plan suggested many years ago by Dean Swift. Let every baby born into the world of poor parents be well suckled up to the age of twelve months, and then sold, like lambs and shoats to the butcher. This plan would certainly result in abolishing poverty even before the end of the present generation. The Spartans, in the interest of the race, destroyed all their children who were born puny or deformed. Why should we not take the cue and destroy all of ours, who are born in such condition of life as to render it certain that their existence here will be worse than a burden to themselves and a source of intolerable injury to others? And in doing this you know we would merely be doing for nature (or God) what we are all agreed she would otherwise do herself, we would only be working out the law of natural selection and the survival of the fittest. We would only be relieving the Almighty—if the gospel of Malthus be true, and certainly there can be no doubt about that—of the cruel necessity of sending famines, pestilences and epidemics upon the earth to weed out the human race. But you may say that the plan is impracticable, for the reason that the parents of those children would refuse to give their consent to it. But are you not mistaken in that? You know that nowadays the principle of self-interest and the love of money rules supreme in the human breast, and consider what a source of revenue would thus be opened up to the poorer class. Then they can certainly be made to see that this fate is infinitely more merciful to their children than the one which, as things now are, inevitably stares them in the face. Their children would be translated from their tenement house hell, before ever having tasted of its horrors, into heaven. By adopting

this plan we would save these babies from the hell on earth our "Christian" civilization has in store for them, and from which they can in no other way escape. We would, by baptizing them, at a small cost, secure them certain admission into paradise. We would relieve the present horrible suffering of their parents and brothers and sisters by creating a new source of revenue for them. And last, but not least, in the estimation of Jay Gould and his disciples, we would furnish the tables of our bon vivants with a novel and doubtless most dainty, and to that class, appetizing dish, which under the hands of ten thousand dollar French cooks, would soon be all the rage. That is the first plan I suggest by which poverty may be abolished.

My second plan is this: Let the 70,000 and more men in New York city who are out of employment, they and their ragged and hungry wives and children, and all others in like circumstances, wherever they may be, let all the sweaters' victims, and distressed needle women, and children employed in mines and factories, in a word, let all the slaves and prisoners of poverty, men, women and children collect together on an appointed day, and there with the eyes of Almighty God and the children of Dives upon them, for the welfare of the race, self-abnegatingly commit universal suicide; and so, at least temporarily, relieve the market from its over-supply of laborers, and thus force wages up to a point that will support the life of the laborer in something like decent comfort. That, I think, would be a very striking object lesson, a sermon on the mount, which might even, for a few weeks or months, interest fashionable society to the exclusion of the most toothsome morsels of salacious scandal. Did not a Russian regiment throw themselves into an impassable ditch that their comrades might walk over their bleeding and dying bodies to victory? Shall it be said that there is not enough heroism in the American breasts to achieve, in the way I have pointed out, such a great triumph over that most fearful of all the enemies of our race, that hag of hell, poverty, and all her brood of attendant horrors? Nay, the only wonder is that it has not been done long ere this. Did not the papers the other day tell us of a French mother who strangled her five little children rather than see them die by inches of starvation and then rave because she was prevented from following them? Do American mothers love their children less than French mothers, or are they less heroic? Why should not all the children of misery who are denied on this planet access to nature's bounties, whose existence here is a curse to themselves and others, seek their fortunes on some other planet, and so better their own lot (they could not make it worse), and at the same time improve the condition of those they leave here? If nothing else will give them courage to do this good part by themselves and their race, and spare their father in heaven the painful duty of decimating them with epidemics, earthquakes, &c., let them reflect what a splendid marble monument posterity will erect to their memory.

But if, as I fear is the case, heroism has fled to brutish beasts, then my third plan is next in order. I submit it to the public with a great deal of reluctance, for I foresee that it is calculated to provoke even greater opposition than either of the others, and besides may imperil my universally conceded reputation of being a practical, common sense, business man. But at what risk, in order to avert the fearful storm now gathering on our horizon and threatening us with destruction, I suggest that we wipe from off our statute books all those laws of the devil, which are the cause of all the poverty we see, and substitute in their stead the laws of God or justice. Repeal that law by which labor is debared free access to the raw material furnished by the Creator for the production of wealth. Repeal that law by which God's children on this planet are lined, in the shape of taxes, for obeying his command to earn their bread in the sweat of their face. Repeal that devil's law, called a tariff, by which labor is robbed of its earnings in the interest of a gang of thieves.

Of course "the rents for the poor are higher in New York than anywhere else." There are more people in New York than in any other city in this country, and the greater the number of people in any given spot the higher the price of land; that is, the higher the rent; that is, the greater the destitution among those unable to own land; that is, among those forced to pay rent. The growth of population is the exact equivalent of a combination among land owners to advance the price of land, to advance rents. There is plenty of vacant, unused land in and around New York city. Why is it not permitted to support the 70,000 hungry human beings in that city who are out of employment? Give them free access to that land and how long will it be before they will be well clothed, well fed, smiling and happy, good citizens, good husbands and fathers? Ninety percent of the strikes fail because the strikers are forced to give

in, after a little while, by starvation, but give them free access to unused land, so that they will be able to indefinitely prolong the strike, and they will in every instance compel the payment of just wages.

China's Great Wall.

Henry Norman in Pittsburgh Dispatch.

The Great Wall of China is, after all, only a wall. And it was built with the same object as every other wall—to keep people from coming where they were not wanted. Mr. Toole's famous account of it is as historically accurate as any. "The most important building in China," he is accustomed to say, "is the Chinese Wall, built to keep the Tartars out. It was built at such an enormous expense that the Chinese never got over it. But the Tartars did. And the way they accomplished this feat was as follows: One went first and the other went after." It differs from other walls in only two respects—its age and size. The former is 2102 years; the latter is such that it is the only work of human hands on the globe visible from the moon. (I take no responsibility for either of these statements.) The Chinese name for it is Wan-li-ch'ang-ch'eng, "the wall ten thousand li long." And the gate on this highway is called Pa-ta-ling, and is about fifty miles northwest of Peking and 2,000 feet above the sea. Beyond it lies Mongolia.

Half an hour after this first glimpse I stood upon the wall itself. The gateway is a large double one, with a square tower upon it, pierced with oblong openings for cannon, of which a dozen old ones lie in a heap, showing that at one time the road was seriously defended at this point. A rough stairway leads to the top, which is about twenty feet wide, and you can walk along it as far as you can see, with here and there a scramble where it has fallen in a little. On the whole it is in excellent repair, having of course been mended and rebuilt many times. Every half mile or so is a little square tower of two stories. The wall itself varies a good deal in height, according to the nature of the ground, averaging probably about forty feet. On one side Mongolia, as you see it, is a vast undulating brown plain; on the other side China is a perfect sea of brown hills in all directions, and across these stretches the great wall. On the hill top, through the valleys, up and down the sides, it twists in an unbroken line, exactly like a huge earth worm suddenly turned to stone. For many miles it is visible in both directions, and when you can no longer trace its entire length you can still discover it topping the hills one after another into the remote distance.

And when you reflect that it is built of bricks, in almost inaccessible places, through uninhabited countries, that each brick must have been transported on a man's shoulders enormous distances, and that it extends for two thousand miles, or one-twelfth of the circumference of the globe, you begin to realize that you are looking upon the most colossal achievement of human hands. The bricks are so big and heavy that I had to hire a little donkey to carry off two of them. This is the only piece of vandalism to which I plead guilty on this trip, but the temptation was irresistible, and "they never will be missed." Nowadays, of course, the wall serves no defensive purpose whatever and is not guarded in any way. Not a soul lives within miles of it at most points, and it is but a landmark for the Mongols' camel trains, a stupendous monument to the great past of China and an evidence of celestial greatness and enterprise gone never to return.

Asking Questions of Goldwin Smith.

Hamilton, Ont., Times.

Mr. Goldwin Smith, in a recent lecture in Toronto, Can., hints that the single tax would rob the farmers of their farms, and in the next sentence he doubts if the world can be made much richer by shifting the burden of taxation from one shoulder to the other. If not much richer, how much poorer? The farmer now pays taxes on his groceries, his clothing, his implements, his fences, barns, house and land; if all the taxes were abolished except the land tax he would not be any worse off. The operation would not turn him off his farm. The change in the system of taxation would make it easier for him to get another farm for his son, but it would not reduce the farmer's wages or profits. Mr. Smith should not talk twaddle. If real property is the best and fairest basis of taxation in cities, as he admits, why not in the country? Is personal property on one side of a corporation line different from personal property on the other side?

His Mind Was Gone.

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Lynchburg, Virginia.

The Pittsburgh Labor Tribune, heretofore a protectionist paper, now says:

"There was not much difference in the wages per ton of rails between English and American mills in 1887, when business was good in America and poor in England. Now that wages have advanced abroad and been reduced at home, it is doubtful whether there is any difference existing; yet there is the starter for another reduction at home, while English wages are apparently still on the up grade."

This is rank heresy from a protection point of view and, beyond a doubt, if it had been uttered by the Tribune just before the presidential election, that paper would have been "bought up" or silenced in some way.

Consider the full force of the admissions made in the above paragraph. In 1887, when the steel rail business was poor in England and good in the United States, there was not much difference in the wages per ton of rails between English and American mills.

And now that the conditions are reversed, not only have wages "advanced abroad and been reduced at home," but wages in "free trade" England are "apparently still on the up grade" while there is a prospect of a further reduction in America!

We do not know what remedy the Labor Tribune suggests for this unsatisfactory state of affairs, or whether it suggests any at all, but obviously, if a protective policy operates to keep up wages, as protection stump orators and protected manufacturers contend, there should be more of it to counteract the bearish tendency in the American labor market. The tariff wall should be built higher and higher, so that the wages of our workmen will keep on a par with those of English workers. If protection is the true remedy, the more of it we have the better. Let us pile it on, therefore, and never "let up" until the utmost limit is reached. Then, if the irrepressible Britishers are still ahead, will be the time to change our politico-economic tactics; to pull down our useless defenses, take the open field and beat them on their own ground.

Prescribing Our Own Flag.

Chicago Tribune.

The new steamship of the Pacific Mail company is to be named China and will fly a foreign flag. It is singular that while the magnificent steamships City of New York and City of Paris, which are now crossing the ocean in six days and making triumphs in ocean transit which the world never before saw, were planned by American enterprise and built by American capital they all fly a foreign flag. Congress decided many years ago that this country must disown the enterprise of its citizens in ocean navigation and shipbuilding. By refusing the American flag to any vessel not built wholly in this country, and with tariff enhanced, high cost materials, congress has forced American capital and enterprise to build ships in British yards and sail them under a foreign flag.

On the Boom.

Quincy (Ill.) Journal, June 5.

The petition to congress asking that honorable body to consider the single tax theory is being signed largely in this city. It is on the boom here.

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